

# THE ART BULLETIN

AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY

VOL. VIII No. 2

DECEMBER 1925

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PUBLISHED BY  
THE COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA



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# THE ALLEGORY

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# THE ART BULLETIN

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FIG. 1—Barcelona, Espona Collection: Altar-Frontal (Photo Mas)



# THE EARLIEST PAINTED PANELS OF CATALONIA (III)<sup>1</sup>

By WALTER W. S. COOK<sup>2</sup>

## (5) THE ALTAR-FRONTAL IN THE ESPONA COLLECTION

A PAINTED antependium recently acquired by Sr. D. Jaime Espona of Barcelona (Figs. 1-6)<sup>3</sup> shows close stylistic affinities with the group of Catalan panel paintings that we have already studied. For many years this panel hung in the Barnola collection at Barcelona<sup>4</sup> and it is said to have come originally from Vich.<sup>5</sup> The work consists of a central compartment, containing a *Majestas Domini*, and lateral compartments, divided by a horizontal band of ornament into upper and lower registers, each of which contains three standing apostles.

The *Majestas Domini* (Fig. 2) is enclosed within an elliptical mandorla and is seated on a dark green wooden throne, which is embellished with an all-over pattern of red lozenges. The red and brown cushion has no ornament. The Saviour is shown with the usual crossed nimbus, the background of which is dark green, and His hair and beard are dark red. The orange tunic, with wide sleeves, is caught up on the left shoulder and is embroidered on that side with a wide band consisting of red and yellow ovals bordered by a row of white dots. The folds of the tunic are indicated across the chest by curving yellow stripes. The dark brown and green mantle, covered with dark red rosettes, is draped over the left shoulder and falls below the knees in a jagged, irregular outline, the contours of which are emphasized by their yellow outline. The sleeves of the yellow alb, which are visible only at the wrists, show a quatrefoil pattern. Christ holds on His left knee an unusually tall Book of the Gospels, which resembles a tablet more than a book and His right hand is raised in benediction. His bare feet rest on a

1. For previous articles in this series see *The Art Bulletin*, V, 4, pp. 85 ff.; VI, 2, pp. 31 ff. I have discussed the stucco altar-frontals of Catalonia in *Art Studies*, II, pp. 41-81.

2. To Charles R. Morey, Professor of Art and Archaeology at Princeton University, I am especially indebted for criticism of the following pages. I am also grateful for many courtesies extended to me by Mrs. Henry French Hollis, of the staff of the Princeton Index of Christian Art. Among my illustrations are photographs reproduced by courtesy of Miss Belle da Costa Greene, Director of the J. Pierpont Morgan Library; the Frick Art Reference Library; Mossen Joseph Gudiol i Cunill, of the Episcopal Museum at Vich, and his assistant, Mossen Cunill; Arxiv "Mas," Barcelona; Institut d'Estudis Catalans; Rep. Ic. de España; Mr. Albert M. Friend, Jr.; Mr. Arthur Byne;

Dr. Richard Offner; Dr. Wilhelm F. Bange, of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin; and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City.

3. *Rambla de Catalunya*, 25.

4. It was sold in 1922.

5. Photograph by Arxiv "Mas," no. 1492 B; tempera on wood; 0.88 x 1.23 m. The frame on all four sides is missing and the two lower corners are entirely restored. It was mentioned in the publication of the Sociedad Artístico-Arqueológica Barcelonesa, *Album de detalles artísticos y plástico-decorativo de la Edad Media Catalana*, Barcelona, 1882, no. 33, and was exhibited at the Barcelona Exhibition in 1888, where it was dated in the twelfth century (Asociación Artístico-Arqueológica, Barcelonesa, *Album de la sección arqueológica de la exposición universal de Barcelona, año 1888*, Barcelona, 1888, no. 4, p. 109, pl. 4.

curving green suppedaneum, which is decorated with a diaper pattern. The figure is relieved against a dark yellow background.

The four symbols of the evangelists appear in the spandrels outside the mandorla against a dark red background: on the upper left, the angel of St. Matthew, with orange and green wings and clothed in a dark green tunic and yellow mantle; on the upper right, the eagle of St. John, with green feathers and holding a yellow scroll; in the lower left, the lion of St. Mark, with dark green body; and on the lower right, the ox of St. Luke, with orange body and yellow and green wings. An inscription in hexameters, written in mixed majuscules around the edge of the mandorla reads:

HIC DEVS ALFA ET O CLEMENS MISERATOR ADESTO  
AC PIETATE TVA MISERORVM VINCLA RELAXA AMEN

which can be freely translated:

"This God is alpha and omega. Be thou present, merciful source of compassion, and with thy goodness loosen the fetters of the miserable. Amen."

The twelve apostles in the lateral compartments wear plain yellow nimbi, mantles, and long tunics terminating at the ankles in stiff, tube-like folds. Some are shown with red or orange beards and others are beardless. Each holds a book or scroll with the exception of St. Peter, the last figure on the upper left (Fig. 3), who holds the double keys, and St. Andrew, the central figure in the register on the upper right (Fig. 4), who carries a cross. The remaining figures cannot be identified with certainty. It is possible that the bearded, partially bald figure on the left of St. Peter, who holds a long scroll, represents St. Paul, and that the youthful, beardless figure on the left of St. Andrew may represent St. John. The drapery and feet of the end apostle in the lower left register (Fig. 5) have been clumsily restored; in the lower register on the right (Fig. 6) the lower half of the central apostle and all of the end figures are modern. The predominating colors of the tunics are dark red, orange, yellow, and green, and the figures are shown against a striped background with dark red, yellow, and green horizontal bands.

The ornament on the narrow band which divides the upper and lower registers in the side compartments contains units of orange and green ovals with small beads on a green ground and is a frank attempt to imitate jewel work. The wide frame which originally enclosed the composition on all four sides is missing. The present border, much restored, consists of a foliate design on a red ground.

The close relationship between this and previous panels that we have studied is shown by many details of the figure and drapery style. The stiff, tube-like tunics are cut off sharply at the ankles as on the Vich altar-canopy (Fig. 10) and the same mannerism appears on the earlier St. Martin altar-frontal at Vich (Fig. 9). The long mantles worn by the apostles in the side compartments of the Espona panel are draped over or wrapped orator-fashion around the arm, falling in heavy folds behind the body. This plastic drapery treatment, which follows the Latin formula current from the



FIG. 2—*Barcelona, Espona Collection: Detail of Altar-Frontal  
Majestas Domini (Photo Mas)*





FIG. 3—Barcelona, Espona Collection: Detail of Altar-Frontal  
Apostles (Pboto Mas)



FIG. 4—Barcelona, Espona Collection: Detail of Altar-Frontal  
Apostles (Pboto Mas)





FIG. 5—Barcelona, Espona Collection: Detail of Altar-Frontal  
Apostles (Photo Mas)



FIG. 6—Barcelona, Espona Collection: Detail of Altar-Frontal  
Apostles (Photo Mas)



FIG. 7—Vich, Episcopal Museum: Detail of Altar-Canopy  
Christ (Photo Mas)



FIG. 8—Vich, Episcopal Museum: Detail of Altar-Canopy  
Angel (Photo Mas)

eighth to the twelfth century in Italy and southern France,<sup>6</sup> was also common in Mozarabic manuscripts, as shown by the Codex Vigilanus (Fig. 30) and the Codex Aemilianensis,<sup>7</sup> where the tube-like tunics are also cut off sharply above the ankles and terminate in conventional pleats at the bottom.

The drapery of the Espona panel, however, was more influenced by contemporary Catalan models executed under French influence than by the style of Mozarabic Spain. This is shown by the manner in which the Saviour's tunic is caught up on His left shoulder and richly embroidered with a wide border. This feature does not appear in Mozarabic illumination but is common in France, especially in the schools of Toulouse and Limoges.<sup>8</sup> In fact, the embroidered band on the tunic shown in Fig. 2 is identical with that found on the Saviour's tunic in the sculptured tympanum of the church at Carennac (Fig. 12) and is also employed in the Vich altar-canopy (Figs. 10 and 8). Moreover, the Saviour's mantle in the Espona panel shows many analogies with that worn by the *Majestas Domini* on the west façade of Chartres,<sup>9</sup> where the garment is wrapped like a sash around the waist and falls on either side of the body and below the knees with much the same irregular contour as in Fig. 2. At Chartres the folds of the tunic, as shown below the knees, are treated more naturalistically and with far less angularity than on the Barcelona panel, but the general arrangement is analogous. The use of curving stripes on the breast of the tunic in the Catalan altar-frontal (Fig. 2) is another French mannerism,<sup>10</sup> already noted on the two early antependia in the Barcelona Museum (Fig. 11), but there is little or no suggestion in the Espona panel of the Languedoc "flying fold,"<sup>11</sup> which appears in the Barcelona antependia and on the Vich altar-canopy (Fig. 10).

Perhaps the most striking evidence of school tradition is revealed by a comparison of the central compartments of the Espona panel and the Vich altar-canopy.<sup>12</sup> In both works Christ is seated on the same type of bolstered wooden throne, enclosed within a mandorla inscribed with mixed majuscules, and the blessing right hand with abnormally long fingers is held in the same position. In both examples (cf. Figs. 2 and 7) there are the same small ears, long nose, and a similar treatment of beard and mous-

6. Early Latin examples are illustrated by the Munich Gospels of the eighth century (Amédée Boinet, *La miniature carolingienne*, Paris, 1913, pl. II) and the ninth century Trèves Apocalypse (*ibid.*, pls. CLV-CLVI). The persistence of the tradition in the early Romanesque sculpture of southern France is shown by the piers in the cloister at Moissac (A. Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, Boston, 1923, IV, pls. 266, 267, 271, 272), the ambulatory reliefs in the church of St.-Sernin at Toulouse (*ibid.*, pls. 297, 298, 300, 303, 304), and the apostles on the lintel of the Ascension tympanum of St.-Sernin, Toulouse (*ibid.*, pls. 308, 310; Émile Mâle, *L'art religieux du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle en France*, Paris, 1922, fig. 40).

7. Cf. also *The Art Bulletin*, V, 4, fig. 6, and VI, 2, figs. 29 and 30.

8. Manuscript from Limoges, Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 11550 (Mâle, *op.cit.*, fig. 4).

9. *Ibid.*, fig. 219.

10. Manuscript from Limoges, Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 1987 (Mâle, *op.cit.*, fig. 12); Ascension tympanum, St.-Sernin, Toulouse (*ibid.*, fig. 40; Porter, *op.cit.*, pls. 308-9); Moissac tympanum (*The Art Bulletin*, V, 4, fig. 24; Mâle, *op.cit.*, fig. 1); apostles, Toulouse Museum (*ibid.*, fig. 13).

11. For a discussion of this motif see *The Art Bulletin*, V, 4, pp. 98-99; VI, 2, pp. 36-37.

12. *Ibid.*, V, 4, fig. 23.



tache. The Saviour's hair in the Espona panel might have been copied line for line from the carefully delineated hair found on the Vich altar-canopy. This manner of dressing the hair, which follows the Romanesque formula of southern France,<sup>13</sup> differs radically from the treatment found in Leon-Castile during the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. In the Catalan antependia (cf. Figs. 2, 7, and 9) and manuscripts<sup>14</sup> the hair is parted over the center of the forehead, there is a large roll on either side of the head, and the locks are caught up below the ears. In Castile, on the other hand, as shown by eleventh century carving, the hair is tightly braided and is wound Chinese-fashion around the top of the skull or brought down low over the crown of the head, fitting tightly like a skull cap (cf. Figs. 13, 14, and 15).

The facial type of the Saviour in the Espona panel (Fig. 2) is much more advanced than that found on the Vich altar-canopy and on earlier works of the first half of the twelfth century. On such work as the Vich altar-canopy (Fig. 7) and the St. Martin antependium at Vich (Fig. 9) the eyes are large staring orbs, the underlid is rendered by a straight line, and the mouth is either perfectly straight or, as on the two panels in the Barcelona Museum (Fig. 11), turns down sharply at the corners, producing an effect of austerity and solemnity. In the case of the Espona panel, on the other hand, the eyes are smaller, the under eyelid is rendered by a curved rather than a straight line, and the sensitive mouth is modelled with expression and feeling. This humanizing tendency, which shows a distinct break with the majestic, awe-inspiring features of the early Romanesque formula, is much closer to the naturalistic treatment found at Chartres, where the conception of ideal beauty is no longer Romanesque but early Gothic.

The cushioned throne on which the *Majestas Domini* is seated was in widespread use in Catalan art during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It is simply constructed, consisting of a large bolster and a wide seat supported by two uprights. The origin of this type is unknown but it may have been derived from early Coptic models, since a similar throne appears in the sixth or seventh century in the wall paintings of Bawit<sup>15</sup> and Sakkara,<sup>16</sup> where the seat and uprights are richly ornamented with a lozenge-and-bead pattern in imitation of jewel work. The Coptic seat is usually represented with a high back, whereas this detail is usually omitted from the Catalan examples. Sometimes the Spanish artist added a crossbar at the base as additional support, as shown by a New Testament page in the Bible of Roda,<sup>17</sup> by the *Majestas Domini* relief on the façade of the church at Arles-sur-Tech (Fig. 16), and by the manuscript

13. Cf. relief of *Majestas Domini* in ambulatory of St.-Sernin, Toulouse, *ibid.*, V, 4, fig. 13.

14. *Ibid.*, V, 4, figs. 12, 14, 16, 33.

15. Jean Clédât, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baoutt*, in *Mémoires de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire*, XII, Cairo, 1904, pls. XVII, XXI,

XL, XLII, XC, XCVI, XCVIII. *The Art Bulletin*, VI, 2, fig. 15.

16. J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1907-1908)* in *Service des antiquités de l'Égypte*, III, Cairo, 1909, frontispiece; pls. VIII, X (4).

17. *The Art Bulletin*, V, 4, fig. 12.





FIG. 9—Vich, Episcopal Museum: Detail of St. Martin  
Altar-Frontal. Majestas Domini (Photo Mas)

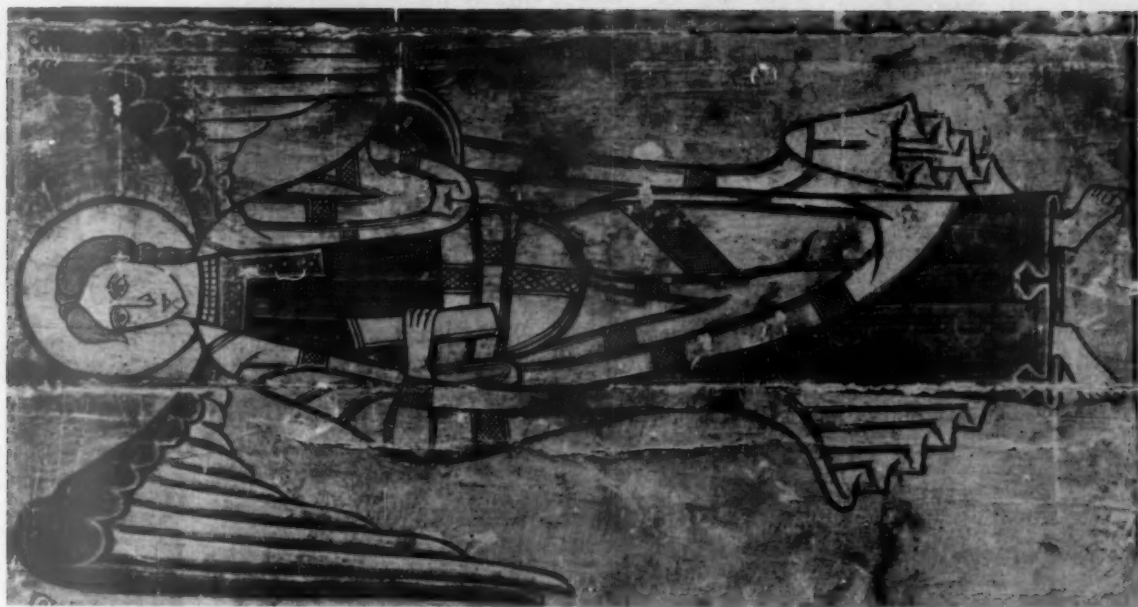


FIG. 10—Vich, Episcopal Museum: Detail of  
Altar-Canopy. Angel (Photo Mas)

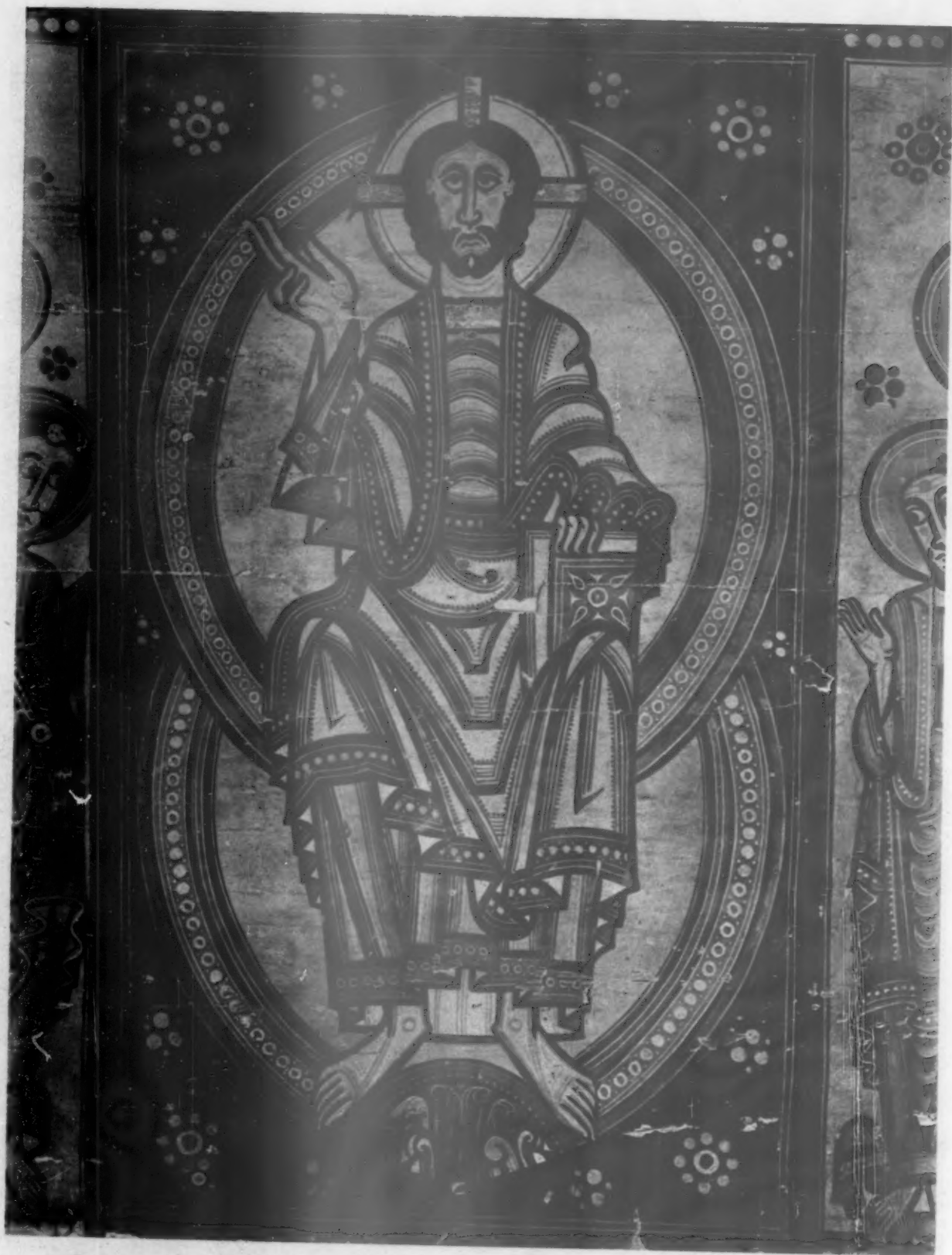


FIG. 11—*Barcelona, Museum: Detail of Antependium. Majestas Domini (Photo Mas)*

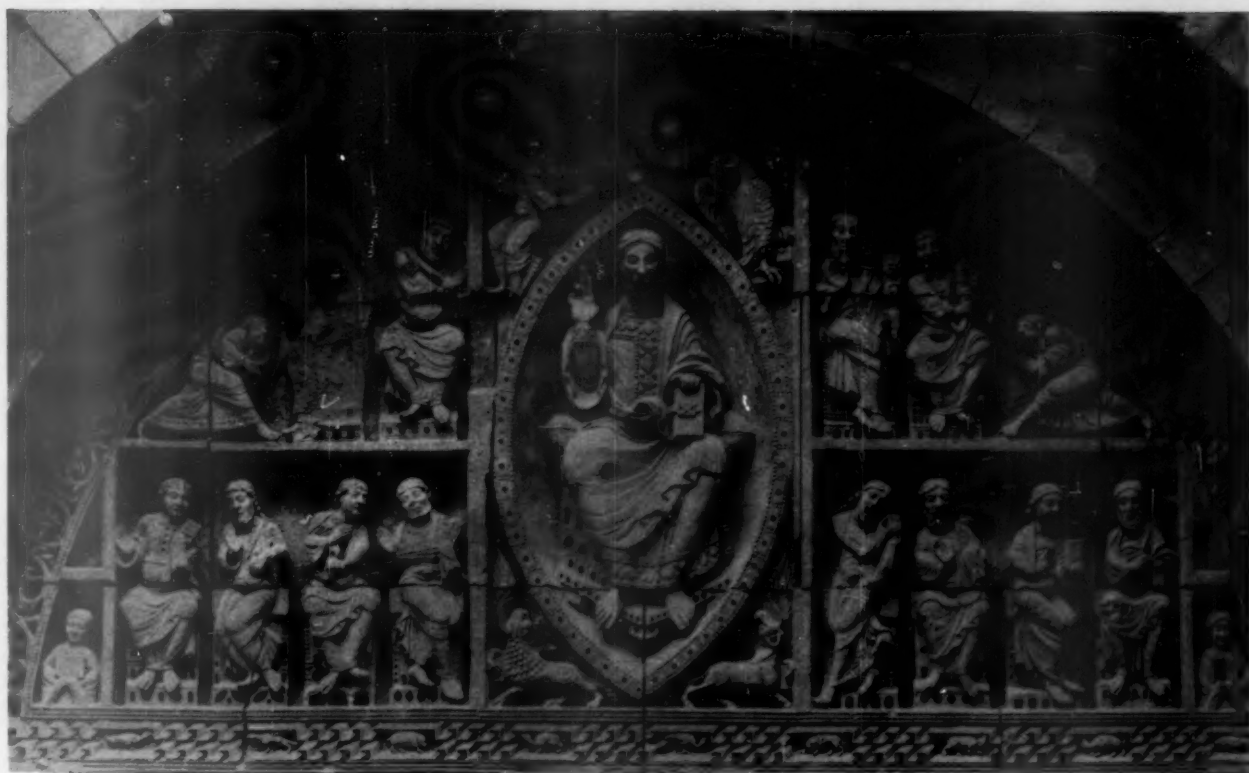


FIG. 12—*Carennac, Church: Sculptured Tympanum*



FIG. 13—*Madrid, Archaeological Museum: Detail of Ivory Cross of King Ferdinand II and Sancho*



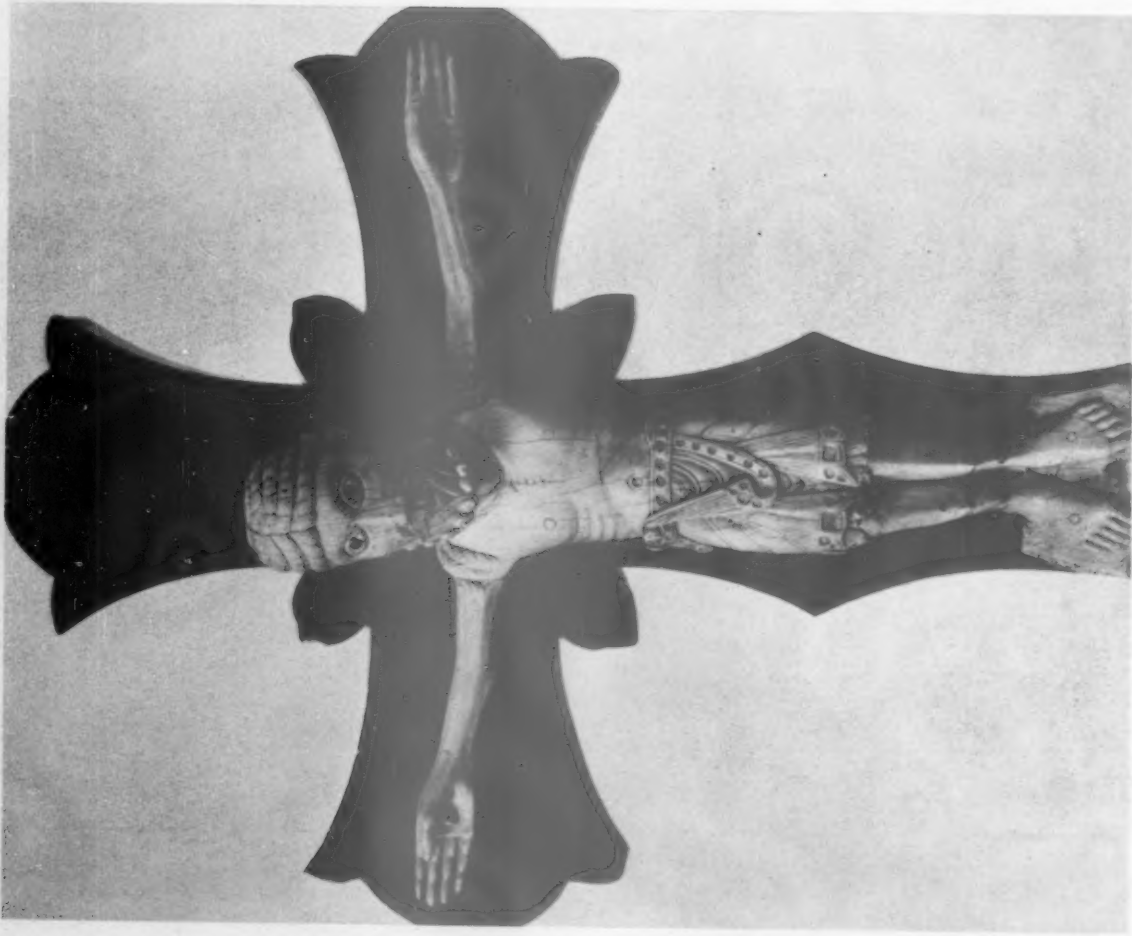


FIG. 14—Leon, Archaeological Museum: Ivory Crucifix (Photo Byne)



FIG. 15—San Millán de la Cogolla: Central Panel of Ivory Shrine





FIG. 16—*Arles-sur-Tech, Church: Relief on Façade. Majestas Domini (Photo Mas)*



FIG. 17—*San Juan de las Abadeses: Sculptured Tympanum (Photo Mas)*



FIG. 18—Vich, Episcopal Museum: Fragment of a Manuscript (Photo Mas)

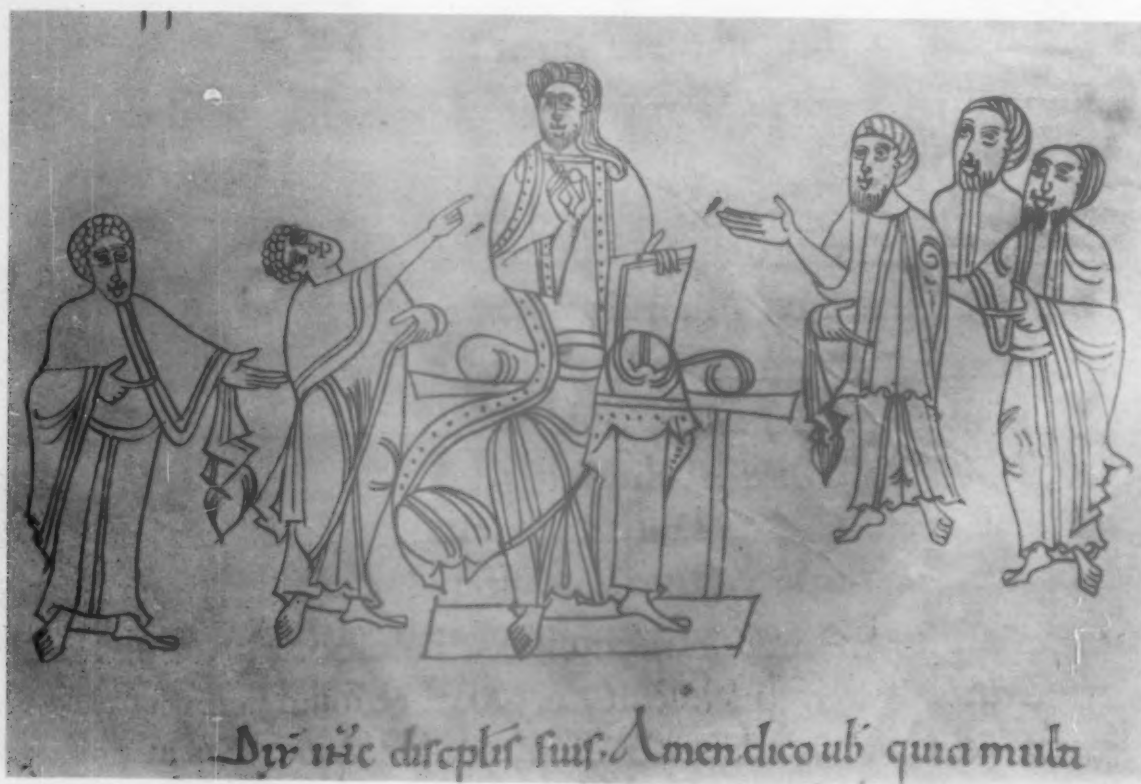


FIG. 19—Gerona, San Felice: Page of Homilies of Bede (Photo Mas)

examples illustrated in Figs. 18 and 19. When there is no supporting base the Saviour's feet usually rest on a small *scabellum*, as in the relief of San Juan de las Abadessas (Fig. 17), or on a cushion, as in the Romanesque fresco at Terrassa.<sup>18</sup> Occasional Catalan examples may be cited where the seat and supports are richly embellished,<sup>19</sup> as in the early Coptic frescoes, but more frequently the Catalan throne is a simple wooden structure without ornament (cf. Figs. 9, 17, 18, and 19).

It is interesting to note that this is the only Catalan altar-frontal with a striped background. In other Romanesque antependia the figures are sometimes placed against a field composed of colored squares or rectangles, but this is the only panel with a background divided by horizontal bands. It is an ancient formula, appearing in western Europe in Latin manuscripts of the fourth and fifth centuries, where it can be traced to the conventionalization of the illusionistic sky and background. In the first Vatican Virgil<sup>20</sup> the foreground, distant ground, horizon, and sky are rendered in different tones in a series of registers, to reproduce the effects of light and distance. There is very little linear perspective but a marked attempt at aërial variety, a feature which is found in the Ambrosian Iliad,<sup>21</sup> the Quedlinburg Itala, and the Liberian mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore (352-366 A.D.).<sup>22</sup> In these works, which represent the last expression of antique illusionism, the registers of colors blend into one another. Later artists were sometimes fairly successful in reproducing the atmospheric perspective of such early models as the Vatican Virgil, especially the artists of the school of Tours, as shown by the Vivien Bible.<sup>23</sup> More frequently, however, the later artists misunderstood the meaning of the earlier convention, and with the gradual decay of Latin illusionism the aërial perspective degenerated into a simple rendering of stripes, a convention which became especially prevalent in the painting of southern Gaul and Spain.

By the year 900 the use of striped backgrounds had become an accepted tradition of the Mozarabic manuscript style in Spain, and it appears in all the codices written at Toledo and in the monasteries of the Asturias. The manner in which this convention was employed in Spanish art can be illustrated by a page from the early tenth century Beatus manuscript in the Pierpont Morgan Library (Fig. 20), where the background is composed of three bands of colors, red, yellow, and brown, and again in the Gerona Beatus of 975. In other European schools of illumination this mannerism disappeared, whereas it survived in the Peninsula until the close of the Romanesque period, well

18. Illustrated in a forthcoming article in *The Art Bulletin*.

19. *Ibid.*, V, 4, figs. 14, 16, 23.

20. Pierre de Nolhac, *La Vergile du Vatican*, extract from *Notices et extraits des manuscrits*, XXXV, 2, 1897; *Codices e Vaticanis selecti*, I; *Fragmenta et Picturae Vergiliana Codicis Vaticani 3225*, Rome, 1899; *The Art Bulletin*, VII, 2, fig. 38.

21. *Homeri Iliado pictae fragmenta Ambrosiana phototypice edita cura doctorum Ant. M. Ceriani et Acb. Ratti*;

*praefatus est Ant. M. Ceriani*, Milan, 1905; *The Art Bulletin*, VII, 2, fig. 26.

22. According to Wilpert (*Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten von IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1916, I, pp. 412 ff., pls. 8-28) the present gold ground of the mosaics is mostly restored, but the original background shows the light effect of the first Vatican Virgil in that a marked change of tone is visible toward the horizon.

23. Cf. *The Art Bulletin*, VII, 2, fig. 39.



into the thirteenth century. A typical twelfth century Spanish example is to be seen in a copy of the Beatus in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, where the page is again divided into three registers, and the red, blue, and yellow bands are placed one above the other. The late persistence of the tradition in Castile can be shown by the *Mulier super bestiam* page of the thirteenth century Beatus in the Morgan Library (Fig. 21), where two bands of color are employed. From such manuscript examples as these the convention passed into the repertoire of the fresco painters and it appears in nearly all the extant mural painting of Catalonia.<sup>24</sup> It was also frequently employed by the French artisans of the school of Limoges, as shown by an enamel plaque in the Morgan collection (Fig. 22), and a reliquary casket in the cathedral of Huesca (Fig. 23). The use of this mannerism in southern France was undoubtedly due to Spanish influence.<sup>25</sup>

The date of the Espona panel cannot be placed earlier than the year 1150. This is evident from the expressive faces and the advanced drapery treatment, especially that of the *Majestas Domini* in the central compartment, which recalls the treatment found on the west façade of Chartres. The bent knees and the general attitude of the symbol of St. Matthew, in the upper left spandrel of the Espona panel, show an obvious attempt to approximate the running movement of the angel at Chartres, and equally reminiscent of this French monument is the manner in which the Book of the Gospels is held between the feet of the symbols of St. Mark and St. Luke. The antependium is clearly later than the Vich altar-canopy and should be placed in the second half of the twelfth century. Moreover, in view of the numerous analogies which we have noted between the Espona panel and the Vich altar-canopy it is highly probable that both works are products of the same atelier in the Plana de Vich.

(6) THE SAINT LAWRENCE ALTAR-FRONTAL FROM SAN LORENZO DE LOS DOS MUNT

The earliest Catalan altar-frontal which illustrates scenes from the acts and passion of St. Lawrence is now preserved in the Episcopal Museum at Vich (Fig. 24). This panel,<sup>26</sup> which was found in the church of S. Lorenzo de los Dos Munt, a small parish

24. The frequency with which the *motif* was employed in Catalonia during the Romanesque period is attested by the following Catalan examples: Sant Martí de Fenollar (Institut d'Estudis Catalans, *Les pintures murals catalanes*, pl. VI); Sant Miguel de la Seo (*ibid.*, pls. VII-X); Santa Maria d'Aneu (*ibid.*, fig. 39); Sant Climent de Tahull (*ibid.*, pls. XI, XII); Santa Maria de Tahull (*ibid.*, pl. XIII); Santa Maria de Bohí (*ibid.*, pl. XV); Santa Maria d'Esterrí (*ibid.*, pl. XVI); Ginestarre de Cardós (*ibid.*, pl. XVIII); Esterrí de Cardós (*ibid.*, pl. XIX); Santa Eulalia d'Estahon (*ibid.*, pls. XX, XXI).

25. For a discussion of the adoption by the school of Limoges of Spanish ornamental motives see my article in *Art Studies*, II, pp. 77-80.

26. Vich, Episcopal Museum, No. 8; tempera on panel; 0.89 x 1.38 m; photograph by Thomas, no. 358; the lower part of the panel has been damaged and little of the original color remains on the frame. The panel was acquired for the museum at Vich by Bishop Morgades and was exhibited at the Barcelona Exhibition in 1888. Bibliography: Asociación Artístico-Arqueológica Barcelonesa, *Album de la sección arqueológica de la exposición universal de Barcelona, año 1888*, pp. 107-108, pl. I; *Catálogo del museo arqueológico-artístico episcopal de Vich*, Vich, 1893, p. 71; Charles Rohault de Fleury, *Les saints de la messe et leurs monuments*, Paris, 1896, IV, pp. 241-242, pl. LXXXI; Joseph Gudiol i Cunill, *Nocions de arqueologia sagrada catalana*, Vich, 1902, pp. 256, 261, figs. 85, 88; *idem*,





FIG. 20—New York, Morgan Library: Page of Tenth Century Beatus Manuscript



FIG. 21—New York, Morgan Library: Page of Thirteenth Century Beatus Manuscript

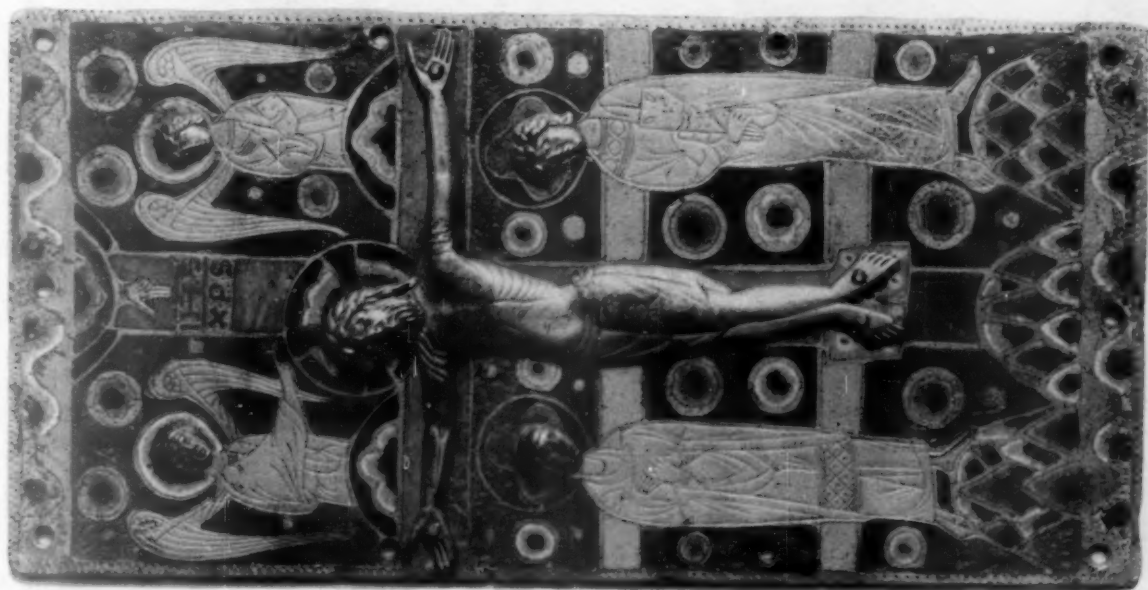


FIG. 22—New York, Metropolitan Museum:  
Enamel Plaque



FIG. 23—Huesca, Cathedral: Enamel Reliquary  
(Photo Mas)



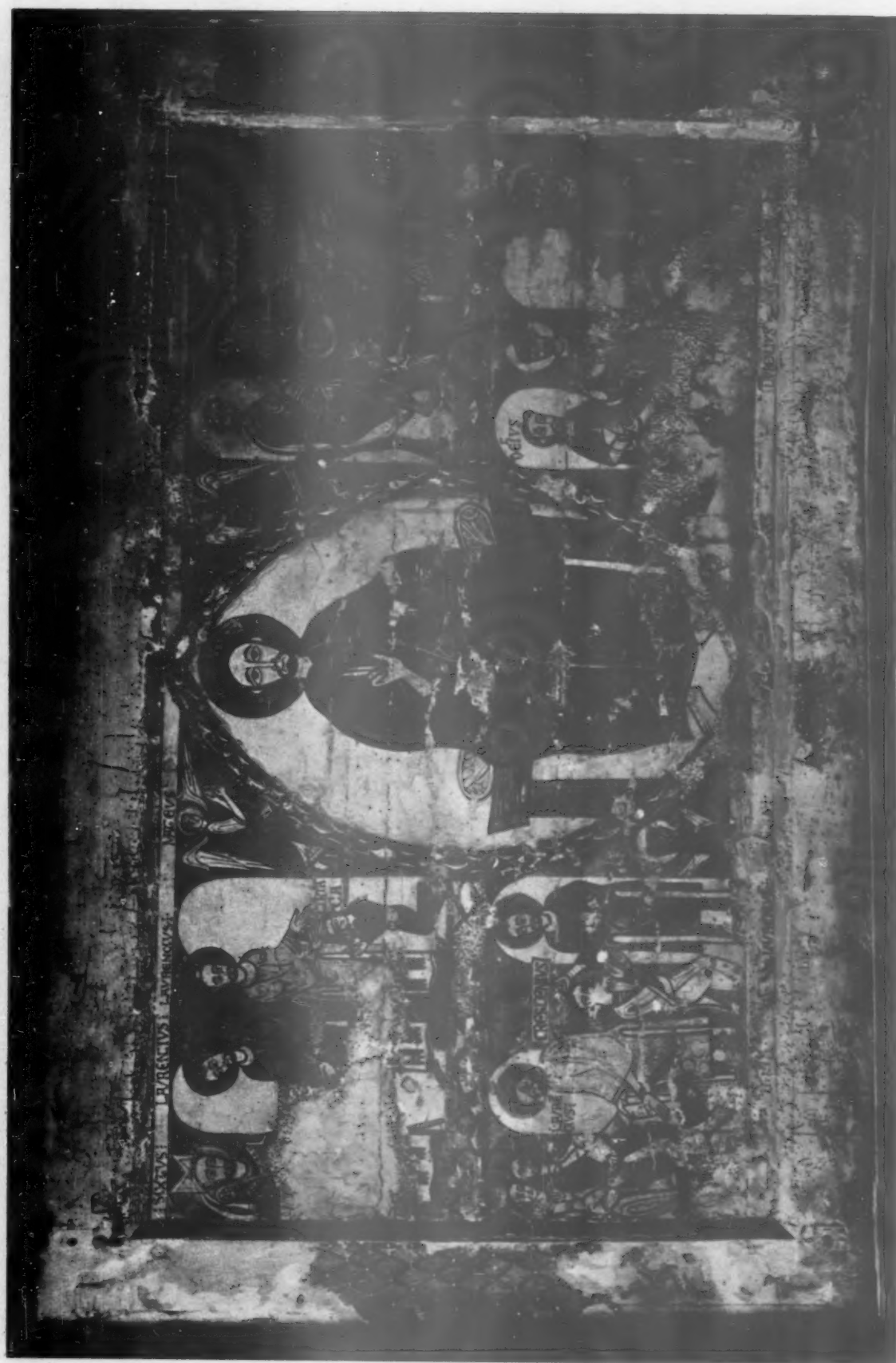


FIG. 24—*Vicb*, Episcopal Museum: *Altar-Frontal from San Lorenzo de los Dos Muntis*

church south of Vich,<sup>27</sup> contains a central compartment with the *Majestas Domini* and four lateral divisions with seven scenes from the life of St. Lawrence.

The Saviour (Fig. 25) is seated on a wide, bench-like green throne, which has a dark green scroll ornament and a narrow bolster with yellow foliate design. The red crosses of the nimbus are relieved against a reticulated green background. The eyes are shaded, and a triangular spot of red color is painted on each cheek; the hair, moustache, and beard are jet black. Christ is clothed in a dark green tunic and voluminous dark red mantle. With His left hand He clasps the closed Book of the Gospels, which rests on His knee, and His right hand is raised in benediction. His bare feet rest on the lower rim of an elliptical mandorla. Wavy red lines, indicating clouds, are drawn inside the mandorla, which is embellished with a degenerate bead-and-reel ornament interspersed and bordered by dots. Outside the mandorla, against a red background, appear the four symbols of the evangelists; in the upper left spandrel, the angel of Matthew (MATEVS) with a book; in the right, the eagle of St. John (inscription missing) with a scroll; in the lower left, the lion of St. Mark (MARCUS); in the lower right the ox of St. Luke (LVCHAS) is almost obliterated.

The story of St. Lawrence begins in the upper left compartment, with the scene in which Pope Sixtus II delivers the church treasures to the saint (Fig. 26). "Then he delivered to him all the treasures, commanding him that he should give them to churches and poor people. And the blessed man sought the poor people night and day, and gave to each of them as was needful."<sup>28</sup> The figure of the pope (SIXTVS) is badly damaged but he undoubtedly held in one hand a purse (*TESAVROS*) which he was in the act of delivering to the saint (*LAVRENCIVS*). The pope is shown with yellow halo, mitre and alb, a dark green pontifical, stole, embroidered black sandals, and crozier. St. Lawrence, whose hands are outstretched to receive the purse, is represented with beard and tonsure, yellow alb, green dalmatic, maniple, and embroidered sandals.

The first of the acts of St. Lawrence, the healing of the widow Cyriaca, is shown in the same compartment on the right. "He came to the widow Cyriaca, who lived on the Caelium hill, where he found many Christians, who were concealed because of the persecution. He washed the feet of all of them and began to distribute the church treasure among them. When the widow Cyriaca saw the holy deacon she fell at his feet and begged him in the name of Christ to place his hands on her head, to heal her

*Las pinturas románicas del museo de Vich*, in *Forma*, Barcelona, 1904, I, p. 348, fig. 2; Antonio Muñoz, *Pittura romanica catalana, I paliotti dipinti dei Musei di Vich e di Barcellona*, in *Anuari*, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Barcelona, 1907, I, pp. 102-103, fig. 8.

27. According to the Catalogue of the Barcelona Exhibition of 1888 (pp. 107-108) this altar-frontal was found in the church of San Lorenzo de los Dos Munts, but Rohault de Fleury (*op. cit.*, p. 241) states that it comes from the church of Pruit, one of the parishes of the city of Vich. I have accepted the former prove-

nance until more definite proof is forthcoming to the contrary. The church called in Catalan Sant Llorenç del Munt belonged to a Benedictine foundation, to which donations were made during the tenth century. The eleventh century church has been fully discussed by J. Puig y Cadafalch, *L'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya*, Barcelona, 1911, II, pp. 218 ff., figs. 131-136.

28. Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, tr. by William Caxton, ed. F. S. Ellis, London, 1900, IV, pp. 211 ff.

from her pain. Lawrence made the sign of the cross over her and also laid the cloth, with which he had dried the feet of the Christians, on her head and the widow was healed." The saint (LAVRENCIVS), clad in a yellow alb and orange dalmatic, touches with his right hand the head of the widow (CIRIACA), a diminutive figure in red who kneels at his feet. In the compartment below (Fig. 27) the deacon (LAVRENCIVS), wearing an orange dalmatic, is washing the feet of two Christians. One of these, a bearded figure dressed in a yellow tunic and green mantle, holds one foot in a circular basin, and the other convert, who is beardless, wears an orange tunic.

St. Lawrence performed many miracles in the curing of the blind, and the cure of the blind Crescentius is portrayed in the adjoining scene. "The same night he went to the house of a Christian man and found therein a blind man, and gave to him his sight by the sign of the cross." Clothed in a green dalmatic the saint (LAVRENCIVS) makes the sign of the cross over the head of the Christian (CRESCENCIVS CECVS). Crescentius wears a green tunic and yellow mantle and stoops before the saint in a half kneeling posture with outstretched hands. A small cross is depicted above his head.

In the lower right compartment (Fig. 29) the deacon is questioned concerning the church treasures. "And when the knights heard speak of the treasures, they took Lawrence and brought him to the provost, and the provost delivered him to Decius. And Decius Caesar said to him: Where be the treasures of the church, which we know well that thou hast hid? And he answered not. And he was inquired again of the treasures, and Laurence demanded dilation of three days, and Valerianus granted him on pledge of Hippolitus. And St. Laurence in these three days gathered together poor people, blind and lame, and presented them tofore Decius, in the palace of Salustine, and said: These here be the treasures perdurable, which shall not be minished, but increase, which he departed to each of them. The hands of these men have borne the treasures into heaven. . . . And then Decius was angry, and commanded that he should be beaten with scorpions, and that all manner of torments should be brought tofore him." In this scene the saint (LAVRENCIVS) is not accompanied by the blind and lame but stands alone before the emperor (DECIVS), who is seated in judgment on the left. Decius wears a yellow tunic and green mantle, and the deacon is clad in an orange dalmatic. The lower half of the figures is entirely lost.

The healing and baptism of the blind Lucillus is the last of the acts represented. "And there was in prison a paynim named Lucillus, which had lost the sight of his eyes with overmuch weeping. And St. Laurence promised to him to re-establish his sight if he would believe in Jesu Christ and receive baptism, and he required anon to be baptized. Then St. Laurence took water and said to him: All things in confession be washed. And when he had diligently informed him in the articles of the faith, and he confessed that he believed all, he shed water on his head, and baptized him in the name of Jesu Christ. And anon, he that had been blind received his sight again." The deacon





FIG. 25—Vich, Episcopal Museum: Detail of Altar-Frontal. *Majestas Domini*



FIG. 26—Vicb, Episcopal Museum: Detail of Altar-Frontal. Acts of St. Lawrence



FIG. 27—Vicb, Episcopal Museum: Detail of Altar-Frontal. Acts of St. Lawrence

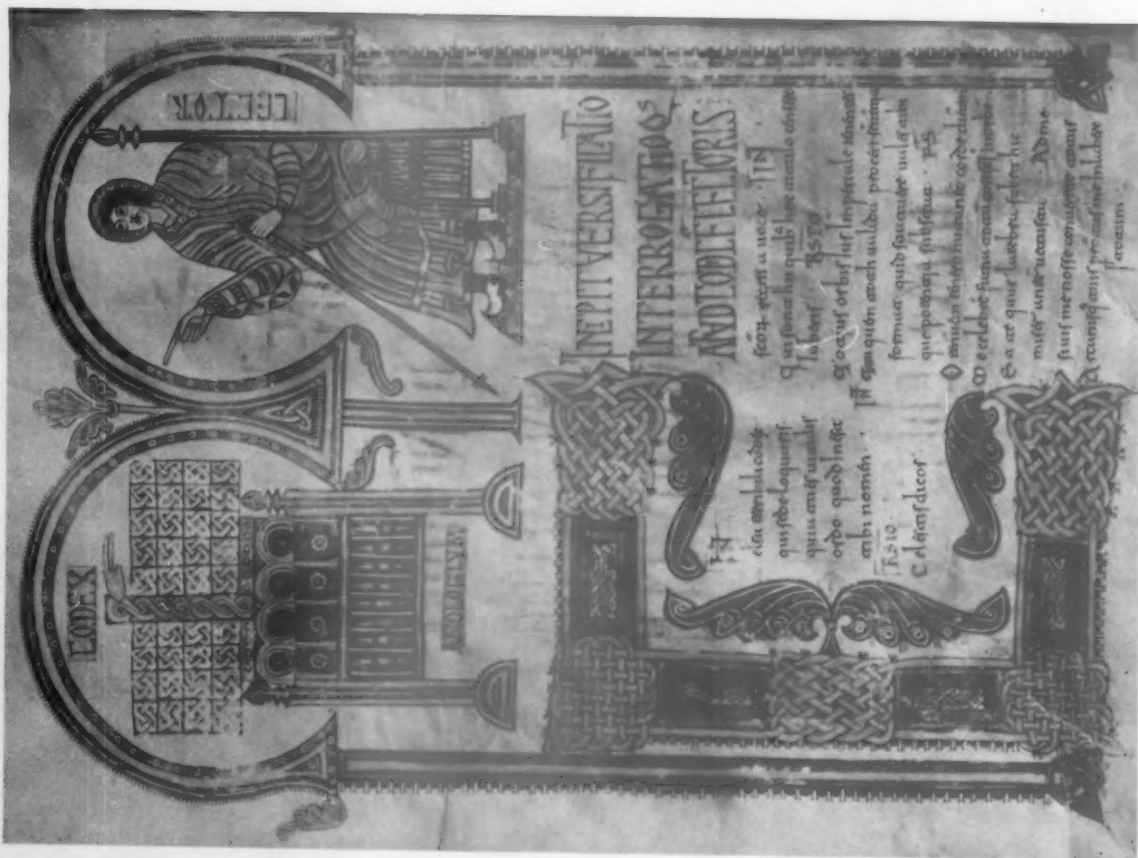


FIG. 28—Vich, Episcopal Museum: Detail of Altar-Frontal. Martyrdom of St. Lawrence



FIG. 29—Vich, Episcopal Museum: Detail of Altar-Frontal. Acts of St. Lawrence





(inscription missing), wearing a richly embroidered green dalmatic, pours the water of baptism from a pitcher over the head of the convert (LVCILLVS), who kneels before him with outstretched hands. Nothing remains of the figure of Lucillus except the hands, the top of the head, and a fragment of the yellow tunic.

The martyrdom of the saint which, according to the *Acts*, took place at night in the baths of Olympius, near the palace of Sallust, the historian, is depicted in the upper right compartment (Fig. 28). "And then said Decius: Bring hither a bed of iron, that Laurence contumax may lie thereon. And the ministers despoiled him, and laid him stretched out upon a gridiron of iron, and laid burning coals under, and held him with forks of iron. Then said Laurence to Valerianus: Learn, thou cursed wretch, that thy coals give to me refreshing of coldness, and make ready to thee torment perdurable. . . And after this he said with a glad cheer unto Decius, Thou cursed wretch, thou hast roasted that one side, turn that other, and eat. And then he, rendering thankings to our Lord, said: I thank thee, Lourd Jesu Christ, for I have deserved to enter into thy gates. And so gave up his spirit." The saint lies prone upon a green gridiron, supported by four legs; underneath appear long tongues of orange flames. At either end of the grill kneeling executioners (CARNIFIES) with forked sticks are shown in the act of turning the martyr in order that he may be roasted on all sides. The hands of the saint point upward in a gesture of speech and above him is written: LAVRENCIVS ELEVANS OCCVLOS SVOS IN DECIVM DIXIT ECCE MISER ASSASTI VNAM PARTEM REGIRA ALIAM ET MANDVCA.<sup>29</sup> The emperor (DECIVS) is enthroned at the left, with crossed legs and his right hand raised in a gesture of speech. He wears a short green tunic, yellow cloak, orange hose, and black sandals; the executioners are clothed in yellow tunics, and the saint is naked except for a yellow loin cloth.

The narrow bevel of the frame of the altar-frontal is colored red and the surface is embellished on each of the four sides with a diaper lozenge and swastika pattern.<sup>30</sup> Units of four red lozenges containing yellow swastikas alternate with units of four green lozenges containing black swastikas. The intersection of the black diagonal lines is emphasized by a yellow dot. The use of a reticulated lozenge containing crosses or swastikas is a common antique *motif*, which was freely adopted during the Middle Ages, especially in textiles, where it was employed as an all-over pattern.<sup>31</sup> As a border *motif* it appears in Carolingian manuscripts of the ninth century,<sup>32</sup> and this is undoubtedly the source of the form as it appears on our panel. The use of dots and half lozenges or half reels as filling *motifs* in the bead-and-reel ornament applied to the mandorla

29. Cf. the text of Mombricitus, which reads: *Nunc ille: "Coctum est, devora, et experimentum cape, sit crudum an assum suavis"* (Migne, *Patr. lat.*, II, p. 321).

30. The panel is in such a bad state that most of the ornament of the frame has been lost, but enough remains to show that the same design was employed on all four sides.

31. For a discussion of this *motif* as an all-over pattern see my article in *Art Studies*, II, pp. 59-60.

32. E.g., Gospels of Lorsch (Boinet, *op.cit.*, pls. XV, XVI); Gospels of St. Médard of Soissons, Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 8850 (*ibid.*, pl. XXI). It appears to be especially common in the Ada group of manuscripts.

and to the narrow bands which divide the upper and lower registers of the lateral compartments shows that the original significance of this antique design has been lost. The stucco relief, however, is sparingly employed and does not surround the lateral compartments on all four sides as on the Catalan stucco antependia.

The figure style of this altar-frontal betrays many archaic mannerisms common to the earlier painted panels of this series. The same facial types are repeated again and again, with no attempt at individualization. The bearded head of Christ in the central compartment (Fig. 25) is identical with that of St. Lawrence, Pope Sixtus, and Decius in the lateral scenes. St. Lawrence is invariably shown with a beard, whereas in the majority of mediaeval examples he is represented as a beardless youth. In each of the figures the heavily shaded eyes have the same large black pupil, which produces a staring effect, and the abnormally long nose terminates in diminutive nostrils. Wherever the face is shown in three-quarters view the nostril is rendered in the same manner as in the lateral compartments of the St. Martin panel from Montgrony<sup>33</sup> and on the Vich altar-canopy (Figs. 7 and 10). The mouth, turned down sharply at the corners, produces the same dour, solemn expression as that found on the two early antependia in the Barcelona Museum (Fig. 11) and in the Gospels of Perpignan,<sup>34</sup> a feature inherited from tenth century Mozarabic manuscripts (cf. Fig. 30). A *Majestas* page of an illuminated thirteenth century manuscript in the cathedral archives of Tortosa (Fig. 32) shows an analogous treatment of the moustache and closely cropped beard. The *tache* on the cheek, which we have already noted as a characteristic of Latin style,<sup>35</sup> does not appear in this panel as a circular spot but as a triangular patch of color, similar in form to that found on the Vich altar-canopy (Fig. 7). Modelling of the flesh tones, moreover, extends to the arms and hands and is analogous to the shading which appears so frequently in Catalan frescoes of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>36</sup> The small ears, as usual, are placed too high and are rendered with complete disregard for anatomical truth.

Whereas the figure of the Saviour in the central panel might have been copied from an eleventh century model, this archaizing tendency does not appear in the lateral scenes, where the articulation of head and body is somewhat more naturalistic. The relationship of the figure style with that of Italy is apparent if we compare the figures of the Bishop Sixtus and the St. Lawrence in our panel (Fig. 26) with that of the bishop who officiates over the dead body of St. Magnus in the fresco of the cathedral at Anagni (Fig. 31). In both works the elongated heads, with large eyes, slightly sunken cheeks, and rounded beard are set on slender necks and tall bodies. The kneeling figure of Cyriaca in the St. Lawrence panel shows the same block-like head in three-quarters pose and the same heavy chin as that of the attendant ecclesiastics in the Italian

33. *The Art Bulletin*, V, 4, fig. 1.

34. *Ibid.*, VI, 2, fig. 32.

35. *Art Studies*, II, pp. 48-49.

36. E.g., Pedret, Sant Miquel de la Seo, Sant Climent de Tahull, Santa Maria de Bohí, Santa Maria de Mur, Ginestarre de Cardós, Santa Eulalia d'Estahon, illustrated in *Les pintures murals catalanes*, fasc. I-IV.



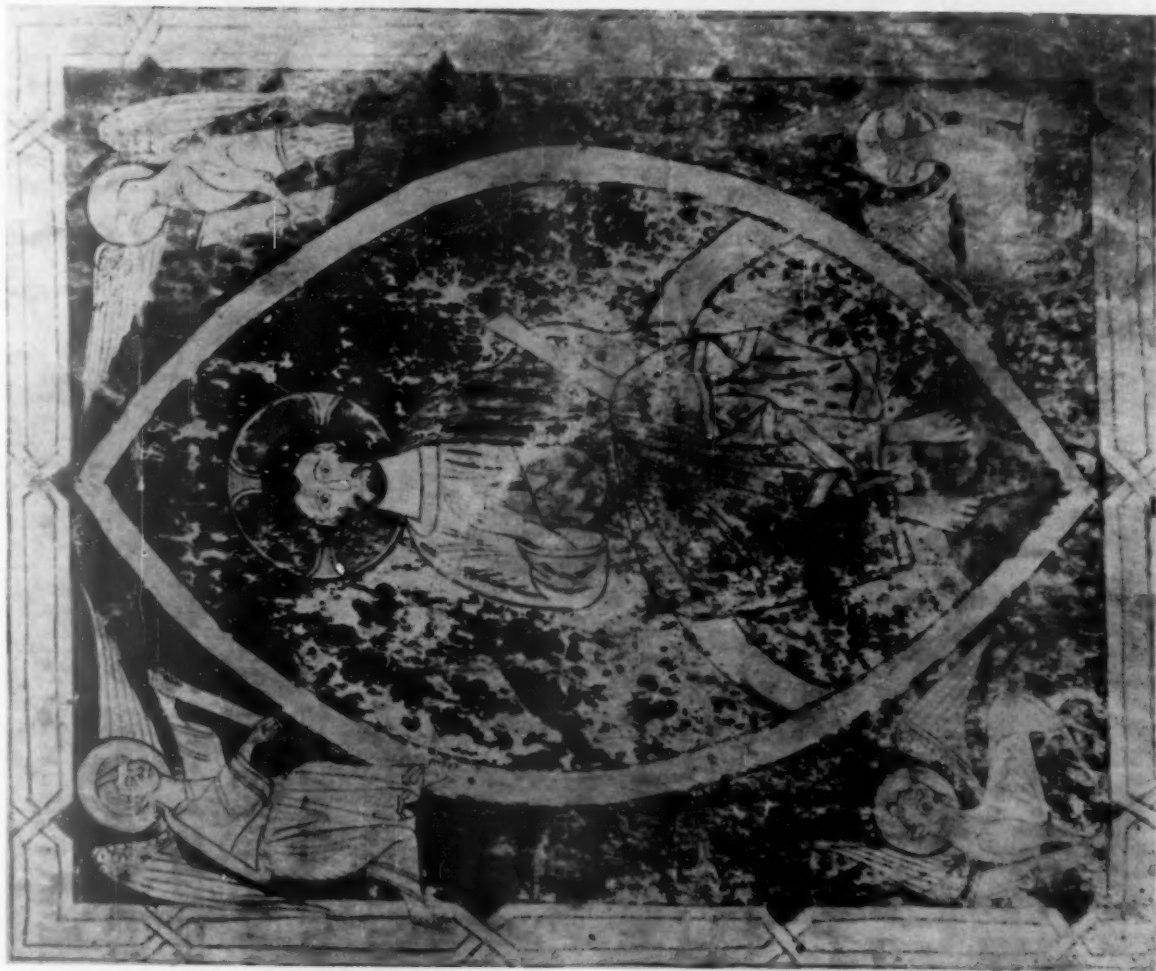


FIG. 32—Tortosa, Cathedral Archives: Page of a Manuscript  
Majestas Domini (Photo Mas)



FIG. 33—Tortosa, Cathedral Archives: Page of a Manuscript  
Majestas Domini (Photo Mas)

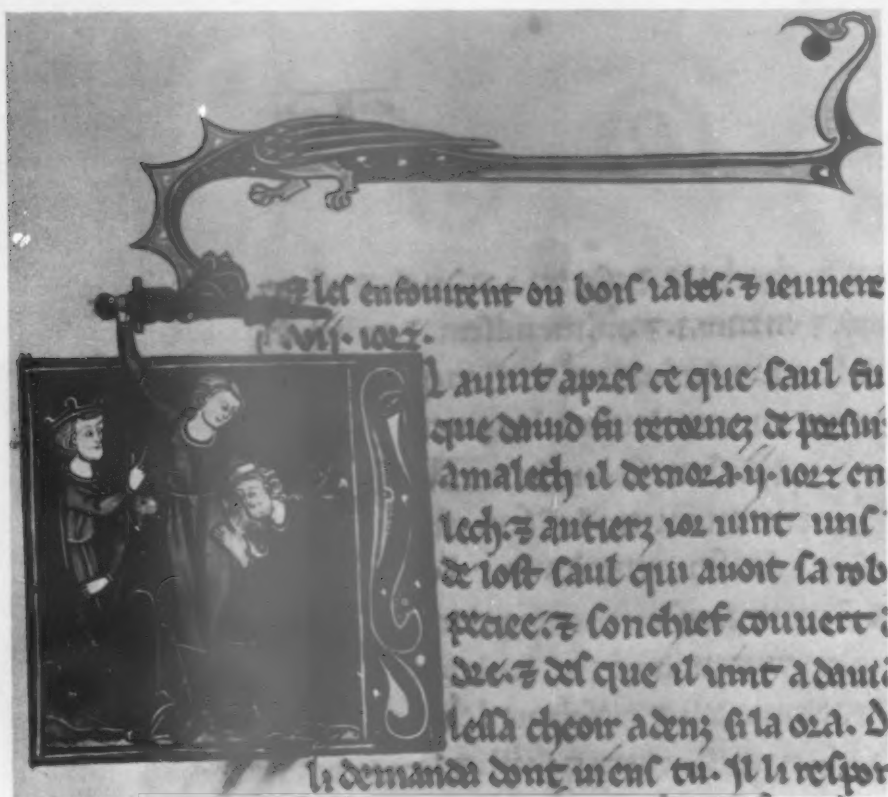


FIG. 34—New York, Morgan Library: Page of Bible



FIG. 35—Brussels, Royal Library: Page of a Manuscript

fresco. This similarity between the two works is not due to any direct influence but is explained by the common basis of Latin style which underlies both works.

The Catalan panel shows affinities with the Latin tradition of southern France and Italy rather than with the traditions of northern France and England. There is none of the fluttering drapery style which we have noted in altar-frontals previously studied. In Fig. 25 the Saviour's dark green tunic and red mantle fall in straight lines to the ankles and the folds are indicated by scrolls and spirals which are decorative but quite meaningless. The body is too large for the head and the voluminous costume gives the figure an inflated effect about the shoulders. This is not due to accident or carelessness on the part of the artist but must be considered as further evidence of the relatively late persistence of an earlier Spanish drapery mannerism. The drawing of the human figure with a diminutive head and disproportionately large costume is a common feature in tenth century Mozarabic manuscripts, such as the Codex Vigilanus (Fig. 30), and in isolated instances this tradition persists as late as the thirteenth century, as shown by a page from an illuminated manuscript at Tortosa (Fig. 33).

The use of blind arcades as a background is an old artistic formula which was employed on Early Christian sarcophagi and occasionally in Carolingian ivories. A characteristic example of its use in the twelfth century is shown in Lombardy on the west façade of Modena cathedral, where a blind arcade is employed as a background for scenes from Genesis. In our panel the proportions of the arcading are analogous to those seen on the lintel of the west portal of the church of St.-Gilles of the second half of the twelfth century, and it is not at all improbable that the *motif* in our panel may have been copied from such a sculptured monument. The derivative character of the panel is shown by the absence of supporting shafts and the introduction of palmettes in the spandrels of the arches. The Spanish artist, however, has remained true to the color tradition of Catalonia and has painted the arcades with alternate red and yellow backgrounds, thereby producing strong color contrast which throws the figures into high relief. This use of an alternating color scheme, which is employed in the costumes of the figures as well as in the backgrounds, plays an important rôle in Spanish Romanesque painting. Interest and variety are achieved not by an individualization of the facial types, but by a skilful and subtle juxtaposition of primary colors.

St. Lawrence is represented with the tonsure and deacon's vestments: dalmatic, alb, stole, maniple, and embroidered sandals. The alb is invariably yellow, but in each scene the richly brocaded dalmatic is rendered with a different pattern and a different color. Wherever Decius appears he is portrayed with all the attributes of a mediaeval tyrant. He wears the "mandyas," or long imperial cloak clasped at the neck, which was worn by officials and dignitaries,<sup>37</sup> and he is enthroned on a curule chair or Dagobert throne, with legs crossed.

37. For a discussion of the *mandyas* see W. de Gröneisen, *Sainte-Marie-Antique*, Rome 1911, pp. 187 ff.



The portrayal of a seated king or tyrant with the left leg crossed over the right characterizes the sovereign in the exercise of his royal functions. This attitude was reserved for royalty or for great lords and lieutenants endowed with sovereign power and, according to Martin, had a symbolic value, expressing anger or any violent emotion.<sup>38</sup> Whenever the king of France is represented hieratically as sovereign legislator (*type de majesté*) both feet are on the ground,<sup>39</sup> but whenever the king is depicted as a judge, endowed with supreme executive authority, and giving orders, the attitude changes; he leans backward with an air of haughty contempt and crosses his legs. "If he is angry, if he gives an order, if he condemns a guilty person, if he presents the sword to knights who are going to fight his enemy, the gesture is accentuated and becomes violent. In this state the legs no longer rest naturally on the pavement but are crossed, one over the other. If the king is enraged, if he condemns to death an unfortunate who resists his will, the movement is even more exaggerated; moreover, if, as judge, he reflects and pardons, the gesture also appears, to show that mercy is an act of the all-powerful."<sup>40</sup> The attitude had a menacing significance and accompanied the most terrible sentences. Thus in a twelfth century manuscript in the Royal Library at Brussels (Fig. 35) the king pronounces a death sentence with the left leg crossed over the right; the executioner swings a huge axe and is about to strike off the head of a prisoner who lies on the ground with both hands bound. In a thirteenth century Bible in the Morgan collection (Fig. 34) the executioner uses a large sword and the unfortunate culprit leans forward and begs for mercy.

In these examples the left leg is crossed over the right, but other miniatures show the right leg crossed over the left, as in the twelfth century Gospels of Limoges, in the Pierpont Morgan Library (Fig. 36), and in a Gothic manuscript at Brussels (Fig. 37). In the Limoges Gospels Herod not only crosses his legs but seizes his beard and betrays violent emotion by the expression of his countenance. There appears to have been no fixed rules as to which leg should be crossed, although according to mediaeval law procedure the judge "should be seated on his chair like an enraged lion; he should throw the right leg over the left, and if he cannot render a just verdict he should reflect a hundred and twenty-three times."<sup>41</sup>

The origin of the *motif* of crossed legs is unknown. It is seldom found in Italian art during the Middle Ages. Martin has suggested that it may have originated in Germany or in England, and entered France after the Norman Conquest. During the twelfth century it appears on works of art in France; its use becomes widespread during the

38. Henri Martin, *Les enseignements des miniatures, attitude royale*, in *Gazette des beaux-arts*, 55 année, LV, 1913, pp. 173 ff., where the attitude of crossed legs is fully discussed. According to W. Deonna (*Rev. arch.*, XXII, 1913, pp. 344 ff.) the attitude had a magic value, and he cites examples showing that in the classical period the *motif* expressed sorrow and was usually restricted to the lower classes of society.

39. On French seals, dating from those of Henry I of France (1031-1060), the king is invariably portrayed as a *type de majesté* with both feet on the ground.

40. Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

41. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer*, 1828, p. 763; Michelet, *Origines du droit français*, 1837, p. 314, quoted by Martin (*op. cit.*, pp. 180-181).



FIG. 36—New York, Morgan Library: Page of Limoges Gospels



FIG. 37—Brussels, Royal Library: Page of  
Gothic Manuscript



FIG. 38—New York, Metropolitan Museum: Enamel



FIG. 39—Brussels, Royal Library: Page of a Manuscript



FIG. 40—Santiago, Cathedral: Page of a Manuscript (Photo Mas)



following century, especially in the reign of St. Louis,<sup>42</sup> and the custom is mentioned as late as the sixteenth century by Erasmus.<sup>43</sup> Frequently during the twelfth century the legs are not crossed, as shown by Catalan antependia (St. Vincent panel, Lerida; St. Andrew panel, Vich), or an enamel in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 38), where Herod, in the scene of the Massacre of the Innocents, is depicted with both feet on the ground. The *motif* of crossed legs does not occur in Spain on Mozarabic monuments and its use in this antependium, in the scene of the martyrdom of St. Lawrence, is further evidence of French influence in the art of Catalonia.

An important clue to the date of this antependium is furnished by the vestments worn by Pope Sixtus, who is depicted in the upper left corner with a yellow mitre, alb, pontifical, stole, embroidered sandals, and crozier. The mitre shown here is the "horned mitre" (*mitre cornue*) and has the shape which was common during the second half of the twelfth century. In tenth century Spain the ecclesiastics are often represented with a tall pointed cap as in the Codex Vigilanus and the Codex Aemilianensis,<sup>44</sup> and in Italy the earliest form of the mitre, which was derived from a non-liturgical headdress, the *camelaucum*, had the shape of a cone similar to that found in the *Liber Floridus* at Ghent.<sup>45</sup> The cone-shaped hat was succeeded about the year 1000 by a hemispherical cap, with an orphrey or *circulus* round the bottom.<sup>46</sup> Occasional examples occur during the late eleventh century in which the top of the cap is indented, such as that worn by St. Amand in Fig. 41, but after the year 1100 the cap loses its circular form entirely and invariably shows a depression over the center of the forehead.<sup>47</sup> Prior to the year 1125 the points are usually low and round, such as that worn by St. Theodemirus in Fig. 40, a page from a manuscript in the cathedral of Santiago, dated 1129.<sup>48</sup> The horns of the mitre were usually reinforced with a lining of linen, leather, or parchment, cut in the form of a semicircle or triangle, and at times the points turned inward, as shown in the Letters of St. Augustine at Vich (Fig. 42).

In Spanish examples of the second half of the twelfth century the points of the mitre

42. The attitude was so closely associated with royalty that in fables and romances, where animals play the parts of men, lions, monkeys, and other beasts are shown with crossed legs when represented as kings and queens (*ibid.*, p. 186).

43. Erasmus, *De civilitate morum puerilium*, Freiburg, 1530, says "this habit of throwing the right leg over the left was an ancient custom of royalty but it is now poor taste (*dextro pede in laevum femur injecto sedere, priscorum regum mos est, sed improbatum*)."<sup>43</sup> The custom is mentioned as late as the eighteenth century in *Civilité puerile et bonnête, dressée par un missionnaire*, 1749, which states: "*il est incivil de branler les jambes quand on est assis, comme font les petits enfants qui ne peuvent s'en empêcher. Il ne faut pas aussi mettre une jambe sur l'autre: cela n'appartient qu'aux grands seigneurs et aux maîtres*" (Martin, *op.cit.*, pp. 184-186).

44. *The Art Bulletin*, V, 4, fig. 6; VI, 2, fig. 7.

45. Other examples are illustrated in a baptismal register, Exultet Roll, in the cathedral of Bari; in a collection of canons in the Vatican, codex no. 1339; and in the lower church of San Clemente (Joseph Braun, *Die Liturgische Gewandung im Occident und Orient*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1907, figs. 214, 216, pp. 458-9).

46. Miniature in *Vita S. Willibrorde*, Gotha, Herzogl. Bibl. (*ibid.*, fig. 218).

47. Cf. illuminated manuscript in the cathedral library of Cologne, which represents Archbishop Friedrich of Cologne (1100-1131) (*ibid.*, fig. 215).

48. This interesting miniature represents Bishop Theodemirus in the act of discovering the tombs of Santiago and his disciples Theodorus and Athanasius. The bishop wears a white mitre with gold *fasciae* (P. Fidel Fita and D. Aureliano Fernández-Guerra, *Recuerdos de un viaje á Santiago de Galicia*, Madrid, 1880, p. 72, n. 2).

become higher, and in the final evolution of the type the horns are high and pointed and are worn over each ear with an opening front to back. It is this form which appears in our panel, where the horns of the mitre end in high, sharp points, so that the headdress assumes the outlines of two triangles. Close parallels to this example are found in a twelfth century manuscript at Brussels (Fig. 39), on a late twelfth century fresco in the cloister of St.-Sernin at Toulouse, and on the tomb of a bishop in the Catalan cloister of Elne, dated in the year 1186.<sup>49</sup> The "horned mitre," in fact, was not only in widespread use during the second half of the twelfth century,<sup>50</sup> but is sometimes found during the first half of the thirteenth century, as shown by French seals<sup>51</sup> and the frescoes of Quattro Coronati at Rome,<sup>52</sup> where the points curve inward as in Fig. 31. In richer examples an orphrey was often worn over the indentation, as shown in Fig. 43<sup>53</sup> but in our panel the narrow orphrey or *circulus* appears only around the crown. The two long *fasciae*, or *fimbriae*, attached to the back of the headdress and ending in a fringe which falls over the right shoulder in the same manner as in the Toulouse fresco and the Letters of St. Augustine (Fig. 42) are also useful as a test for date, since the *fasciae* were often absent prior to the year 1150 but are almost invariably found after that period.<sup>54</sup>

That this panel must be placed in the second half of the twelfth century is confirmed by other details. The volute of the crozier held by Pope Sixtus is a twelfth century type, terminates in a cross, and has the simple curve which was common throughout the twelfth century.<sup>55</sup> The scene of the washing of the feet of the proselyte by St. Law-

49. Porter, *op. cit.*, pl. 625. Other works of art of the middle or second half of the twelfth century which show the same form of the mitre as that in our panel are: page from an illuminated manuscript, cod. no. O. II, 11, cathedral library, Modena (A. Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, New Haven, 1917, pl. 141, 4); mural painting in the hypogaeum called Platonia, Rome (Charles de Linas, *Anciens vêtements sacerdotaux et anciens tissus conservés en France*, Paris, 1862, fig. 6, pl. facing p. 150); seal of Guillaume de Champagne, archbishop of Rheims (1169-1177) (G. Demay, *Le costume au moyen âge d'après les sceaux*, Paris, 1880, fig. 365); Lambacher Willeram manuscript, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, cod. theol. lat. IV, 150 (Georg Swarzenski, *Die Salzburger Malerei*, Leipzig, 1908, pl. CXXIII, figs. 414-15); Missal from Millstatt, Klagenfurt, Archiv des Hist. Vereins (*ibid.*, pl. CXXVI, fig. 427); Salzburger Antiphonar, Stiftsbibl., St. Peter (*ibid.*, pl. IC, fig. 337); Passau MS., Munich, Staatsbibl., Cml. 11004, fol. 14a (*ibid.*, pl. XXII, fig. 73).

50. Cf. Le Mans, cathedral, window of St. Julien (Eugène Hucher, *Vitraux peints de la cathédrale du Mans*, Paris, 1865, pls. 22-25); Douai, library, no. 257, frontispiece of a manuscript from the book of St. Augustine on the Trinity, c. 1165 (Michel, *Histoire de l'art*, II, 1, fig. 233); for a list of other monuments see Braun, *op. cit.*, p. 463; Enlart, *Le costume*, Paris, 1916, p. 376, n. 2; Demay, *op. cit.*, figs. 335, 343, 363, 371;

Egerton Beck, *The Mitre and Tiara in Heraldry and Ornament*, in *Burlington Magazine*, XXIII, 1913, pp. 221-224, 261-264. An example as early as the year 1102 at Maestricht is cited by Enlart (*op. cit.*, p. 376) and at the end of the eleventh century a horned mitre appears in the frescoes of S. Cecilia in Trastevere (Wilpert, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. 238, fig. 2), but these sporadic exceptions do not alter the general rule. About the year 1200 the "horned mitre" was replaced by a new type in which the horns were worn over the front of the forehead and the back of the head, a disposition which has persisted to the present day (Braun, *op. cit.*, figs. 222-223, p. 464).

51. Braun, *op. cit.*, p. 463.

52. In the chapel of St. Sylvester (1243-1254) (Wilpert, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. 269).

53. Cf. also enameled tomb of Ulger, bishop of Angers, who died in 1149 (Ernest Rupin, *L'Œuvre de Limoges*, Paris, 1890, pl. XIII, figs. 157, 162); Lambacher Willeram manuscript, Berlin, Staatsbibl. (Swarzenski, *Salzburger Malerei*, pl. CXXIV, fig. 419); see Braun, *op. cit.*, fig. 219; Demay, *op. cit.*, fig. 372.

54. Braun, *op. cit.*, pp. 459f.

55. There is no reason for thinking that the crozier was ever carried by the pope, but this fact did not prevent artists from representing the pope holding it, as shown by our panel and a page from the Bible of St. Martial of Limoges (*The Art Bulletin*, VI, 2, pl. XII,



FIG. 41—Valenciennes, Library: Page of Manuscript of Life of St. Amand



FIG. 42—Vich, Episcopal Museum: Page of Codex of the Letters of St. Augustine



FIG. 43—Tortosa, Cathedral Archives: Page of a Missal (Photo Mas)



FIG. 44—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Page of Drogo Sacramentary





FIG. 45—New York, Morgan Library: Page of Huntingfield Psalter

rence almost duplicates line for line the bowl and attitude found in the scene of the washing of the feet of St. Peter by Christ in a fragment of stained glass at Chartres,<sup>56</sup> and the same attitude is found again on a late twelfth century crucifix at Florence (Fig. 46). The hair of Decius in the scene of the martyrdom ends in a short proto-Gothic curl,<sup>57</sup> and the richly embroidered sandals worn by the pope, Decius, and St. Lawrence are seldom found before the year 1150 but are common during the second half of the twelfth and in the succeeding century.<sup>58</sup> The bead-and-reel stucco ornament, the foliate scroll painted on the sides of the throne, the palaeography, especially the form of the letters T, E, S, H, and the meticulous manner of inscribing the name of each figure with a label,<sup>59</sup> all indicate an advanced date in the twelfth century. Rohault de Fleury has dated the panel on stylistic grounds in the following century,<sup>60</sup> but in view of the numerous analogies which we have noted above with monuments of the late twelfth century, it should be placed in the second half of the twelfth century.

The iconography of our antependium has a local interest inasmuch as St. Lawrence, like St. Vincent, was a native of Aragon. A small church in the neighborhood of Huesca, Nostra Doña de Loret, founded, according to tradition, shortly after St. Lawrence's martyrdom, marks the spot where he is said to have been born. He served as a priest at Huesca and Saragossa before his departure to Rome, and his parents, Orentius and Patienza, are still honored (May 1) at Huesca as local saints. Few martyrdoms of the first three centuries are better attested than his, which took place during the reign of Valerian (August 10, 258), and since the fourth century he has been one of the most honored martyrs of the Roman church. His name, together with that of the Spanish martyr St. Vincent, is included in the canon and in the common litany of saints. A panegyric in verse, written by Pope Damasus (366-84) was engraved in marble and placed over his tomb, and details of his death were related by the church fathers, such as St. Ambrose of Milan, St. Augustine, and the poet Prudentius.<sup>61</sup> Constantine the Great was the first to erect a small oratory over his burial place,<sup>62</sup> which was enlarged

fig. 14). For a discussion of the evolution of these types see Egerton Beck, *The Crozier in Heraldry and Ornament*, in *Burlington Magazine*, XXIV (1913-1914), pp. 335 ff.; Charles Cahier and Arthur Martin, *Des crosses pastorales*, in *Mélanges d'archéologie*, Paris, 1856, IV, pp. 145 ff.; Enlart, *op. cit.*, pp. 354 ff.

56. Male, *op. cit.*, fig. 64, p. 77.

57. For a discussion of this see *Art Studies*, II, p. 62.

58. Thirteenth century examples, similar in pattern and style to those shown in our panel are illustrated by Braun, *op. cit.*, figs. 190, 193, 194, and the sandals worn by Decius in the scene of the martyrdom are closely analogous in cut to those found on a thirteenth century tomb at St.-Denis (Enlart, *op. cit.*, fig. 281, p. 264).

59. Numerous examples might be cited, but typical illustrations are shown by the Gumperts-bibel in Erlangen (Swarzenski, *Salzburger Malerei*, pls. XXXVI, XXXVII, figs. 118-122) and the obverse side of the

Metterlacher reliquary cross, school of Verdun, c. 1220 (Otto von Falke and Heinrich Frauberger, *Deutsche Schmelzarbeiten des Mittelalters und andere Kunstwerke der Kunst-Historischen Ausstellung zu Düsseldorf*, Frankfurt am Main, 1904, pl. 92). Other examples are also illustrated by Von Falke, *passim*.

60. Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 241.

61. His name occurs in the most ancient calendars, such as the fourth century *Catalogus Liberianus* or *Bucberianus* and the fifth century calendar of Ptolemaeus Silvius.

62. According to the Almanac of Philocalus for the year 354, which contains an inventory of the principal feasts of the Roman martyrs of the middle of the fourth century, his grave was to be found on the Via Tiburtina. The itineraries of the graves of the Roman martyrs, as given in the seventh century, mention the burial place as in the Catacomb of Cyriaca in agro Verano.

by Pope Sixtus III (432-40) and Pelagius II (579-90), and numerous churches were founded in his honor at Rome between the sixth and eighth centuries.<sup>63</sup> In the fifth century, according to Theodorus, his relics were associated with those of St. Stephen at Constantinople; in the sixth, Justinian also sought his relics; and his cult spread early to Algeria,<sup>64</sup> France,<sup>65</sup> and Spain. A church of St. Lawrence is said to have existed at Merida<sup>66</sup> and one at Huesca<sup>67</sup> in the time of the Goths. His relics were revered in Spain as early as the fifth century<sup>68</sup> and Mozarabic churches were founded in his honor.<sup>69</sup> He is especially venerated at Saragossa,<sup>70</sup> Tarragona, Valencia,<sup>71</sup> and Segovia;<sup>72</sup> the cathedrals of Huesca and Burgos<sup>73</sup> and the royal monastery of the Escorial bear his name. He was no less venerated in Catalonia, where churches dedicated to Sant Llorenç are found as early as the tenth century.<sup>74</sup> His popularity is shown by the fact that more than ninety religious establishments,<sup>75</sup> and countless valleys, hills, towns, and rivers bear the name of the martyr, attesting the strong impression of his cult on the soil of Spain.

St. Lawrence was the first of the saints to share with the apostles the honor of being represented in churches not especially dedicated to him. His emblems are a clasped book and gridiron, and he sometimes carries a cross. He was depicted as early as the fourth century in the catacomb frescoes at Naples and between the fifth and eighth centuries he was frequently represented in Italian mosaics, frescoes, gold glass, gems,

63. For a list of these churches and a discussion of the St. Lawrence legend, as well as bibliography, see de Grüneisen, *op. cit.*, pp. 536-37.

64. In the fifth century the relics of St. Lawrence were kept in a sanctuary near Constantine. For other evidence of the spread of the cult in northern Africa see Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 176-77.

65. Toward the end of the reign of Childebert II (511-558) a basilica was consecrated to St. Lawrence on the right bank of the Seine. St. Gregory of Tours also mentions the existence of an ancient basilica at Paris (*ibid.*, IV, p. 158).

66. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 234.

67. The ancient oratory is said to have been frequented by the Christians until the Arab invasion of 716. All the sanctuaries were then overthrown, with the exception of that of St. Peter. In 1096, when Huesca was reconquered by the Christians, King D. Pedro rebuilt the old church.

68. At Loja, diocese of Elvira, a fifth century inscription has been found containing the names of the saints venerated in the ancient basilica and among them that of St. Lawrence (Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 235).

69. There is a curious reliquary, a small oval tower, at St. Isidore, Leon, dating from 1086, which carries this inscription: *In nomine Domini ob honorem S. Laurentii, Rodericus Gundisalbiz hoc signum fieri iussit in era CXXVIII.*

70. Saragossa claims to have had St. Lawrence within her walls as a student and an archdeacon, and his cult continued during the Middle Ages. It had an ancient

church dedicated to him and at Charlemagne's time an altar with his relics.

71. Valencia disputes with Huesca the honor of having given birth to the saint, but this claim has little foundation. A chalice in the cathedral of Valencia is believed to have been a part of the treasure which was confided to the archdeacon to be distributed to the poor.

72. The convent of St. Lawrence at Segovia was mentioned in 1148. The day of St. Lawrence at Segovia is an important industrial feast day. The workmen of the different trades unions bring their offerings, and the blacksmiths, masons, stonecutters, sculptors, workers in copper, etc., come in turn and honor the memory of the saint.

73. Don Sancho, son of Ferdinand the Great, inherited "*in burgensi civitate ecclesiam S. Laurentii.*"

74. E. g., Sant Llorenç de Beuda, monastery of Sant Llorenç de Vall de Llord, Sant Llorenç de Morunys, Sant Llorenç del Munt, or del Cerdans (les Guillerries), Sant Llorenç del Munt (del Vallès), Sant Llorenç, near Baga, Sant Llorenç Savall, or Ç a Vall, chapel of Sant Llorenç at Vich (Puig y Cadafalch, *op. cit.*, II).

75. Throughout Europe more than twenty cathedrals bear his name, and there are more than two thousand sanctuaries: three hundred in Italy, seven hundred in France, five hundred in Germany, one hundred and thirty in England, sixty-six in Belgium, fifty in Denmark and Sweden, twenty-three in Holland, etc. For a discussion of the religious institutions bearing the name of the saint in Spain, see Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 234-242.





FIG. 46—Florence, Galleria Antica e Moderna: Detail from Crucifix

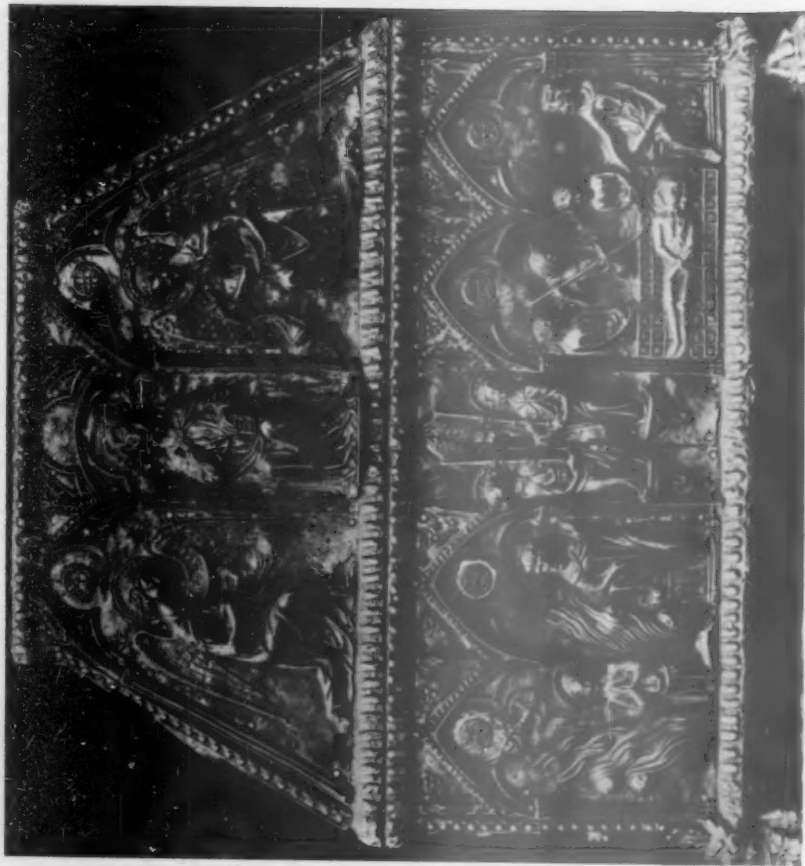


FIG. 47—San Cugat, Church: Casket (Photo Mas)

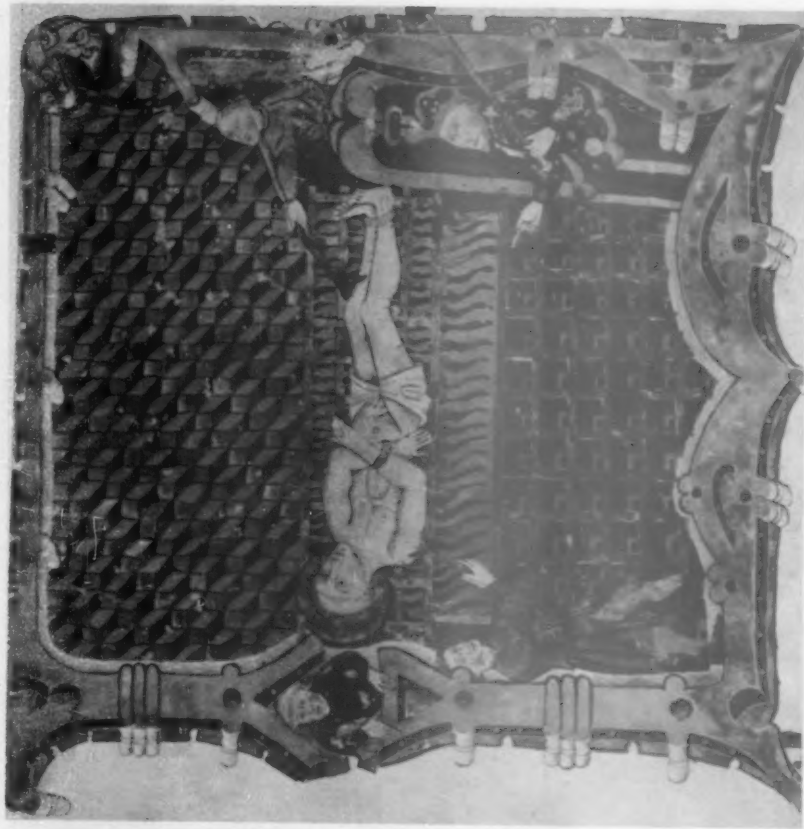


FIG. 48—Madrid, Archaeological Museum: Page of Choir Book  
(Photo Moreno)



FIG. 49—Barcelona, Museum: Fragment of an Antependium

and textiles, where he is usually shown with other saints, such as Peter and Paul.<sup>76</sup> One of the earliest recorded scenes of St. Lawrence is the lost mosaic in the apse of the church of S. Lorenzo f.l.m. at Rome, built by Constantine the Great, which may have depicted his martyrdom on the fiery grill.<sup>77</sup> The earliest preserved monuments which depict this scene are an early bronze medal in the Barberini collection at Rome (see the cover design of this magazine)<sup>78</sup> and a cameo in the Vettori collection.<sup>79</sup> On the obverse side of the Barberini medal the saint lies prone on a gridiron<sup>80</sup> with fire underneath. An orant issues from the body and a crown of martyrdom is placed on the head of the martyr by a hand from above. Alpha and omega are inscribed on either side of his head, and Decius is enthroned behind. On the Vettori cameo an executioner at either end of the grill stirs the coals and a third fetches a pile of wood on his shoulders.

From Italy this type passed northward and in later St. Lawrence cycles the martyrdom is seldom omitted. In the Drogo Sacramentary of the ninth century (Fig. 44) the martyrdom and distribution of the gifts to the poor are shown in an initial D.<sup>81</sup> The saint, naked except for a loin cloth, lies prone on a large grill suspended by chains from a horizontal bar, while seven executioners prod the coals and bind him more firmly,

76. Some of the more important of these are: *Frescoes*: Naples, cemetery of S. Gennaro, St. Lawrence offers a wreath to St. Paul, inscribed LAVRE . . . , fourth century (Garrucci, *Storia dell'arte cristiana*, II, pl. 100/1); Albano, cemetery of S. Maria della Stella, holds a cross, inscr. LAVRENTIVS, sixth century (*ibid.*, pl. 89/3); Rome, cemetery of St. Valentine, nimbed and bearded (642-649) (Dom H. Leclercq, *Manuel d'archéologie chrétienne depuis les origines jusqu'au VIII siècle*, Paris, 1907, I, p. 577). *Mosaics*: Ravenna, mausoleum of Galla Placidia, St. Lawrence carries a gemmed cross and book and approaches the grill with fire burning underneath, fifth century (Garrucci, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. 233/1; Wilpert, *op. cit.*, III, pl. 49); Ravenna, S. Apollinare Nuovo, stands with nimbed saints and holds laurel crown, sixth century (Corrado Ricci, *Ravenna*, Bergamo, 1906, fig. 56); Rome, S. Lorenzo f.l.m., holds long cross, book, and model of church, inscr. SCS LAVRENTIVS, sixth century (Garrucci, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. 271); Rome, S. Prisco di Capua Vetere, now destroyed, shown with sixteen saints offering crowns, inscr. LAVRENTIVS, sixth century (*ibid.*, IV, pl. 254/2). *Gold Glass*: London, Br. Mus., stands with Christ, Sts. Peter, Paul, and other saints, inscr. LAVRENTEVS (*ibid.*, III, pl. 186/2); Florence, Museum, inscr. LAVRENTIVS (*ibid.*, III, pl. 188/7); Rome, Vatican, inscr. VITO (VIV) AS IN NOMINE LAVRETI (*ibid.*, III, pl. 189/2); Rome, Vatican, head and shoulder only, carries cross over right shoulder, inscr. LAVRENTI (VS) (*ibid.*, pl. 189/1); Rome, Vatican, stands with St. Cyprian, holds rotulus, inscr. LAVRENTIVS CRIPRANVS HILARVS VIVAS CVM TVIS FELICITER SEMPER REFRIGERIS IMPACE DEI (*ibid.*, III, pl. 189/6); provenance unknown, seated between Sts. Peter and Paul, inscr. LAVRENTIVS (*ibid.*, III, pl. 189/7); Pesaro, Museo

Oliveri, unknown provenance, fragment, stands with St. Agnes and Christ, inscr. LAVRENTIVS (*ibid.*, III, pl. 191/6); provenance unknown, fragment, holds the monogram and cross (Dom Fernand Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, Paris, 1907, I, col. 15). *Textiles*: Strassburg, Forrer collection, the saint has also been construed as St. Mauritius (R. Forrer, *Die frühchristlichen Altertümer aus dem Gräberfelde von Achmim-Panopolis*, Strassburg, 1893, pl. XVII, 3).

77. The church also housed a silver relief, given by Constantine, which contained medallions with the representation of the martyrdom of St. Lawrence: "(posuit) ante corpus beati Laurenti martyris argentoclasas sigillis passionem ipsius cum lucernas binixas argenteas." (*Lib. Pont.*, ed. Duchesne, I, p. 181), cited by Wilpert, *op. cit.*, II, p. 953. See also Cabrol, *op. cit.*, I, col. 423 f.

78. Garrucci, *op. cit.*, VI, pl. 480/8; Cabrol, *op. cit.*, col. 430 f., fig. 79. The medal is inscribed SVCESS AVIVAS.

79. Garrucci, *op. cit.*, VI, pl. 478/43; Cabrol, *op. cit.*, col. 430, fig. 77. The martyrdom is also found on a fragment of gold glass, inscribed LAVRE (N) CIV (S), which may have been copied from the gem (*ibid.*, I, col. 427, fig. 74).

80. It is worthy of note that the grill is common to St. Lawrence and St. Vincent, both of whom were Spanish in origin and it is not improbable that the tradition of the martyrdom of St. Vincent was influenced by the story of St. Lawrence.

81. The text which accompanies this miniature reads: *Da nobis q(uaesumu)s Omnipotens D(eu)s vitiorum nostrorum flammis extinguere qui beato Laurentio tribuisti tormentorum suorum incendia superare* (Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 149).





FIG. 50—*Barcelona, Museum: Detail of Antependium. Martyrdom of St. Lawrence (Photo Mas)*



FIG. 51—*Barcelona, Museum: Detail of Antependium. Martyrdom of St. Lawrence (Photo Mas)*

under the supervision of the proconsul. The essential features of this scene did not change during the ensuing centuries. A typical Romanesque example is illustrated by the Huntingfield Psalter, an English manuscript of the late twelfth century, now in the Pierpont Morgan Library (Fig. 45), where four martyrdoms are shown on a single page. In the martyrdom of St. Lawrence the enthroned Decius holds a long scepter in his left hand and his legs are not crossed. Two guards in the foreground, one of whom holds a bellows, fan the flames and two others torture the saint with long hooks. The grill is shown in a vertical position and the *Dextera Domini* appears from the clouds above.

This Romanesque formula, in which Decius is seated at one side and where two, three, or four executioners prod the body of the saint or bind him more firmly, continued during the Gothic period. A simplified version is found again on a mutilated Catalan antependium in the Museum of Fine Arts at Barcelona (Fig. 51). On a fourteenth century casket in the church of S. Cugat (Fig. 47) the saint lies on a grill represented vertically, as in the Huntingfield Psalter and in Fig. 48, a page from a fifteenth century choir book at Madrid, where two executioners prod him. The most complete series of the acts of St. Lawrence is found in the twelfth and thirteenth century frescoes of the church of S. Lorenzo f.l.m. at Rome, where no less than three cycles are preserved.<sup>82</sup> The frequency with which the acts and martyrdom are found in all countries of western Europe during the Middle Ages is a further indication of the widespread cult of this early Spanish martyr.<sup>83</sup>

82. Cf. Wilpert, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 951 ff., figs. 448 ff.

83. In addition to the Early Christian examples already cited the following works of art may be noted in which St. Lawrence appears either as a single devotional figure or in the scene of the martyrdom: *Italy*: Mosaics: Rome, S. Lorenzo super S. Clementem, lost mosaic, eighth century (Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 72-73); Rome S. Clemente, twelfth century, seated, with fiery grill as a symbol under his feet (*ibid.*, IV, p. 73, pl. XI); Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, twelfth century, standing with book and cross (*ibid.*, p. 73, pl. XI); Monreale, cathedral, apse mosaic, twelfth century, figure with censer (*ibid.*, p. 91, pl. XII). Frescoes: S. Vincenzo al Volturno, crypt (826-843), martyrdom (Grüneisen, *op. cit.*, fig. 262, p. 319) (Bertaux, in Michel, *Histoire de l'art*, I, 1, p. 382); Rome, Palatine Hill, apse fresco, eleventh century, standing figure with Christ (Émile Bertaux, *L'art dans l'Italie Méridionale*, Paris, 1904, I, fig. 77); grotto of S. Lorenzo, near Fassano, Byzantine fresco, eleventh century, bust figure (*ibid.*, fig. 58, p. 144). Manuscripts: Rome, Vallicelliana Library, tenth century, seated with cross, receives book from the deacon Juvenianus (Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 75, pl. XI); Tivoli, Regestum Tiburtinum (*ibid.*, p. 76, pl. XII); Rome, Vatican library, lat. 5419, fol. 40, twelfth-thirteenth century, shown standing with St. Cecelia and St. Margaret (*ibid.*, p. 75); Lucca, Govern. Cod. 1275, cited by Swarzenski (*Salzburger Malerei*, p. 87, No. 5); Cividale,

Museum, prayer book of St. Elizabeth, single figure holds the saint on the grill (Arthur Haseloff, *Die Thüringisch-Sächsische Malerschule*, Strassburg, 1897, p. XVII, No. 35). Sculpture: Genoa, cathedral, sculptured tympanum, martyrdom (Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture*, pl. 254).

*Germany*: Three cycles appear in manuscripts of the Fulda school (E. H. Zimmermann, *Die Fuldaer Buchmalerei*, p. 48); Munich, Perikopenbuch von St. Erentrud, fol. 80, two figures work bellows, Decius enthroned behind, flanked by two guards (Swarzenski, *Salzburger Malerei*, pl. LX, fig. 192); Regensburg, All Saints Chapel, fresco (*ibid.*, p. 87, n. 5); Warmund missal, Ivrea (*ibid.*, loc. cit.); Salzburg, antiphonary, martyrdom, Decius seated on left with crossed legs, guard behind him with a sword, one executioner works a bellows and two others hold the saint on the gridiron with pronged sticks (Karl Lind, *Ein Antiphonarium mit Bilderschmuck aus der Zeit des XI. und XII. Jahrhunderts im Stifte St. Peter zu Salzburg befindlich*, Vienna, 1870, pl. XVII); Holkam Hall, Weingartner Psalter, cod. No. 37, fol. 26v, thirteenth century (Léon Dorez, *Les manuscrits à peintures de la bibliothèque de Lord Leicester à Holkam Hall, Norfolk*, Paris, 1908, pl. XXI); Stuttgart Passionale, twelfth century, martyrdom, two executioners hold the saint with pronged sticks, another works the bellows, Decius seated above in an initial T (Albert Boeckler, *Das Stuttgarter Passionale*, Augsburg, 1923, fig. 73); Basel, cathedral, stone relief,

## (7) THE SAINT LAWRENCE FRAGMENT IN THE BARCELONA MUSEUM

It would not be without interest at this point to discuss the mutilated fragment of an antependium in the Museum of Fine Arts at Barcelona (Fig. 49), which also shows scenes from the life of St. Lawrence. This fragment,<sup>84</sup> said to have been found in Vich,<sup>85</sup> is much later than the altar-frontal from S. Lorenzo de los Dos Munts, which we have discussed above. In its original state the antependium contained a central compartment with the enthroned Saviour and four or six lateral compartments with scenes from the acts and martyrdom of St. Lawrence.

All that remains of the *Majestas Domini* in the central panel is the part of the figure extending from below the breast to the ankles. The missing right hand was raised in benediction, and a Book of the Gospels, the white cover of which is inscribed with the letters alpha and omega, is held on the left knee. The yellow tunic is decorated with orange lines and the mantle is a violet red. The sides of the yellow throne are ornamented with narrow red bands enclosing red dots, the white bolster is embellished with a red foliate design. The dark green background is covered with white, eight-pointed stars. Usually the *Majestas Domini* is enthroned within an elliptical mandorla, with

twelfth century, martyrdom; Berlin, Schloss Museum, enameled reliquary casket, school of Westfalen, late twelfth century, martyrdom, one executioner works bellows and the other holds him down with a pronged stick; Cologne, Maurinus shrine by Fridericus, c. 1180, martyrdom, hand of God from above, Decius not shown (von Falke, *op. cit.*, I, pls. 44, 48, p. 41); Cologne, St. Gereon, Baptistry, standing figure in niche of east wall under arcade, shown with gridiron and palm (Paul Clemen, *Die romanische Monumentalmalerei in den Rheinlanden*, Düsseldorf, 1916, pp. 548, 550, fig. 534, pl. 46).

France: Illuminated manuscripts: Paris, Arsenal Library, *tropaire* from Autun, No. 1169, fol. 15, tenth-eleventh century, two executioners carry the body of the saint, grill missing (Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.*, p. 161, pl. LII); Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 11700, fol. 64v., initial C, Homilies, twelfth century, martyrdom, Decius seated below, four executioners (*ibid.*, p. 161, pl. LII); Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 833, fol. 210, initial C, twelfth century, martyrdom, Decius enthroned above, three executioners (*ibid.*, pl. LIII); Amiens, Library, no. 108, fol. 213, twelfth century, martyrdom, Decius seated above with spectators, two executioners (*loc. cit.*); Paris, Bibl. Nat., Fr. 6447, thirteenth century, martyrdom, two executioners stand behind the grill (*ibid.*, pl. LII); Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 11650, thirteenth century, martyrdom, Decius and three executioners behind the grill, above the figure of Christ (*ibid.*, pl. LIII); Paris, Arsenal Library, breviary from Caen, no. 279, fol. 341, martyrdom, thirteenth century (*ibid.*, p. 161). For later examples of illuminated manuscripts see Rohault de Fleury (*ibid.*, pp. 161-162, pl. LIV). Stained glass: Bourges, cathedral, thirteenth century, acts and passion in four medallions (*ibid.*, pp. 133-155, pls. XXXIX-XL) (Arthur Martin and Charles Cahier, *Monographie de la cathédrale de Bourges*,

Paris, 1841-44, pl. XIV); Poitiers, cathedral, early thirteenth century, one entire window dedicated to St. Lawrence containing twenty-one scenes (Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-64); Auxerre, cathedral, standing with book and palm, inscr. S. LAVRENTIVS, above the martyrdom (1220-1234) (Bonneau, *Description des verrières de la cathédrale d'Auxerre*, 1885, p. 18); Laon, cathedral, thirteenth century (Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.*, p. 144); Chartres, cathedral. Sculpture: Dax, Notre-Dame, portal, thirteenth century, shown with grill (Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.*, p. 121); Lyon, cathedral, voussure of portal, left side, martyrdom (Lucien Bégule, *Monographie de la cathédrale de Lyon*, Lyon, 1880, p. 76); Chartres, cathedral, south portal, left bay, right pillar, stretched on grill (Et. Houvet, *Cathédrale de Chartres*, II, pls. 79, 80). Frescoes: Berzé-la-Ville, Saône-et-Loire, twelfth century (photograph, *Mon. Hist.*). Seals: Paris, Archiv. Nat., seal of Guillaume, doyen of Pont-sur-Seine, 1266, frontal figure with book, inscr. S. LAVRENCIVS (Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.*, p. 173); Paris, Archiv. Nat., no. 7927; seal of Jean de Aler, martyrdom, c. 1247, inscr. SIGILLVM IOHANNIS DECANI S. LAVRENTII SUPER SEPRANI (*ibid.*, p. 146).

Norway: Bergen, Museum, antependium from Aardal, martyrdom (Andreas Lindblom, *La peinture gothique en Suède et Norvège*, Stockholm, 1916, pl. 26); Råda, Vörmland, wall painting (*ibid.*, p. 103).

84. Barcelona, Museum of Fine Arts; photograph by Arxiv "Mas," no. 34686 C; tempera on panel; the panel in its present state measures 0.28 x 1.30 m. The lower part of the fragment has been badly damaged, especially the scene on the left.

85. According to José Pijoan the panel was acquired about the year 1907 from a dealer at Vich, and it is highly probable that the antependium once hung in a parish church of the diocese of that city.



the four symbols of the evangelists in the spandrels. During the thirteenth century, however, the mandorla was often omitted and the Saviour was frequently shown within a rectangular compartment, a formula which has already been noted on the stucco antependium from Tressera, now in the Episcopal Museum at Lerida.<sup>86</sup> In the panel from Tressera the Saviour was enthroned under a trefoil arch, with feet resting on the ground, an arrangement which may have been followed on this panel in the Barcelona Museum.

Of the upper scenes in the side compartments nothing remains except bare feet and lower edges of red, yellow, and green tunics. The absence of sandals would indicate that St. Lawrence and his disciples were shown engaged in such acts of mercy as the healing of Cyriaca, the cure of the blind Crescencius, or the conversion of Lucillus. The two lowest scenes, fragments of which are still preserved, contain scenes of torture. In the lower right compartment (Fig. 50) Decius (DECIUS), clad in a green tunic and blue mantle and wearing a yellow crown studded with red jewels, is seated on the right. The dark brown bolster of his throne has been repainted. He is portrayed with long hair and beard, and his right hand is raised in a gesture of command. In the foreground the saint was undoubtedly shown stretched full length on a rack or other instrument of torture, but the figure now is missing. One of the guards, clad in a yellow tunic, and with dark green hair, leans forward over the body. Another guard holds aloft a white circular object resembling a sieve and above his head is written in white uncial letters the word SERUS. In the upper left corner the head and shoulders of an angel (GABRIEL) appear from dark green clouds. The angel has a green tunic, yellow halo, and small white wings, and he stretches forth both hands toward the saint below. The background is a dark violet red.

The martyrdom on the grill is shown in the lower left compartment (Fig. 51). Here the enthroned Decius (DECIUS) is depicted as in the preceding scene, with jeweled crown, dark brown hair, beard, and green mantle. Much of the lower part of the figure has been lost, but enough remains to show that the right hand of the tyrant was raised in a gesture of speech and that he was seated on a throne with white bolster, similar to that in the central compartment. The saint (LAURENCIUS), bound hand and foot, lies naked on a green grill. He is beardless and is without a nimbus. Behind the grill stand four guards (MAUTES), who prod the body of the martyr with forked irons. All wear loose-fitting orange-yellow tunics with long sleeves, and one of them is bearded. The lower part of the scene is missing, but two additional guards were undoubtedly shown in the foreground stirring the fire or adding fuel to the flames as in the St. Lawrence panel at Vich (Fig. 29). The background is violet red.

The majority of the thirteenth century altar-frontals are surrounded on all four sides by a narrow frame, which is now completely missing in this fragment. The narrow

86. *Art Studies*, II, fig. 22.

stucco bands dividing the lateral and central compartments are white, and all traces of the former gilding have been lost. The ornamental pattern, consisting of roundels alternating with parallel lines, is a common Romanesque *motif*. It occurs in sculpture on the mandorla of the tympanum of the church at Carennac (LOT) (Fig. 12) and is also found in late twelfth century stained glass at the cathedral of Le Mans.

The composition, the facial types, and the palaeography of the inscriptions would date this work in the first half of the thirteenth century. The head of Decius, shown in the lateral compartments, is almost identical with the large heads found on a thirteenth century antependium in the Episcopal Museum of Vich.<sup>87</sup> The resemblance is so close, especially in such details as the crown, hair, moustache, and beard that it is highly probable that the two panels were executed by the same artist.

87. Vich Museum, no. 7; Catalogue, p. 71 f.

# ART AND ECONOMICS

By H. H. POWERS

A CONSIDERATION of relationships such as that suggested by the above title, is unusual, yet I think neither irrelevant nor without interest. That there is a vital relation of dependence is attested by the experience of every artist and of every people. The relation is not always a congenial one but its inexorableness is recognized by all, however grudgingly. Art costs money, in many of its forms a great deal of money, and however imperiously the artist may spurn pecuniary considerations he must live by his craft and only an affluent society can meet his very considerable demands.

This, therefore, is our first proposition. Wealth is a condition of art. No society develops art until it gets rich. The proposition is subject to qualifications and even to seeming exceptions, but its general validity is too obvious to require argument. The rule applies unequally to the different arts. Some cost more than others. Literature is in a sense an inexpensive art. Iceland, a country which could never by any possibility become rich, has produced a rather noteworthy literature. But it has produced no school of sculpture, no significant architecture. It could not afford them. Even the inexpensive arts seldom flourish in impecunious communities. Such communities can furnish paper and ink and they often have the inspiration of nature in its intensest form. But the charms of nature and "the short and simple annals of the poor" have chiefly inspired the poets of an affluent and city-dwelling society. Directly or indirectly, therefore, even the inexpensive arts must own their dependence upon wealth.

One is tempted to moralize a little at this point upon the ungracious attitude so often manifested by art toward wealth and the impulses and activities to which it owes its existence. The accusation of vulgar materialism so incontinently hurled against our civilization and against those who are the chief authors of its wealth and power is a species of shallow rant which is familiar to every prosperous and creative age. It is at least as old as Plato, who excoriated the society that built the Parthenon and lavished its gold upon the Phidian goddess, in terms that suggest the tirade of our day upon the almighty dollar. Yet Plato was a wealthy man, who owed it to these same worshippers of the drachma that he was able to devote himself to the genial pursuit of the good, the beautiful, and the true. In his denunciation of Athenian commercialism he was fond of holding up to honor the frugal simplicity of Sparta as the sated in our day divert themselves with the laudation of the simple life. Yet Sparta produced no Plato, no Phidias, no Sophocles, no Pericles. She built no Parthenon and produced none of the things that Plato thought worth while. The supercilious and querulous criticisms of our Platos are not a whit more reasonable. No age has ever been less materialistic than our own or more intent upon transmuting its wealth into spiritual values.



But enough of moralizing. We turn now to a second principle, the converse and complement of the first. If there cannot be art without wealth there cannot long be wealth without art. This proposition is not quite so obvious as the first and is perhaps subject to greater qualification and more seeming exceptions. It is none the less quite as true as the other. Incidentally, too, it is perhaps more in need of emphasis, for the failure to perceive that wealth under normal conditions inevitably brings forth art is responsible for much of the pessimism and the grouch of the craft.

It goes without saying that this transmutation of wealth into art does not always take place in the experience of an individual. There are wealthy people who do not care for art and care only for amassing wealth, perhaps under the most forbidding and inartistic conditions. Do not chide them. By all means let them get interested in these uninviting but necessary things if they can. It is a part of nature's beneficent division of labor. We should be grateful that we can bathe without running a soap factory of our own. It is therefore entirely in the order of nature that an affluent society should have its specialized individuals whose enthusiasm is entirely for stoking the furnaces of industry careless of the great goal of art. It may even be that a whole generation will devote itself to these homely but basic tasks, laying all unconsciously the foundations for the structure that others will dream and build. To those of wider vision such facts will not obscure the true relation.

A third principle is involved in the foregoing. Wealth begets art only after the lapse of a considerable time. The process cannot be greatly hurried. The parvenu can of course buy art objects and employ craftsmen to produce more, but it is questionable whether the cause of art is furthered in this way. It may even be hindered. There is always danger of this when a parvenu society develops alongside an older society of conspicuous achievement and mature development but of spent energy. Progress under such an influence often seems rapid and brilliant, but it is specious and hollow. Witness the elegant but meaningless art of Hadrian inspired by the art of Greece. Witness, again, our American patronage of classical music. The audiences that throng to hear the ninth symphony mean nothing as regards our musical development. The significant thing in this connection is the jazz that we all rail at but which truly expresses our development in this tom-tom and pow-wow stage. It will take time to make us musicians, but we need not worry. There is plenty of time left.

The slow development of art under the stimulus of wealth, however, sometimes puts us out of our reckonings. It takes so long for art of genuine native growth to mature that before it is ripe the wealth that caused it is often gone. Historic examples will occur to all. At the height of her power and wealth Venice had an art crude and negligible as compared with the art of Florence. The colors that glow from the canvas of Titian are sunset hues, and the dark shadows of Tintoret reflect the deepening Venetian night. When Venice had lost her empire and had sent out her last ship and her last man and spent her last ducat in a vain attempt to stay the advance of the Turk, her im-

poverished citizens could still employ a Tiepolo to paint his inimitable ceilings in palace and church. The story of Athens and of Spain is much the same. Both were in full decline economically when their art reached its zenith. Egypt illustrates the same principle in each of its great historic cycles. Not universally but repeatedly in human history art has been a phenomenon of decadence.

It would be strange if the love of the paradoxical did not prompt to sensational conclusions from these facts. To them is due the theory that art is a concomitant of decay, a disease, so to speak, a theory which has been seriously advanced by a few and which lurks in the background of many minds. It is not without a modicum of warrant. The love of art becomes a passion and passions tend to extravagance. The Greek memorials to the dead, perhaps the most precious relics of Greek art a grudging fate has bequeathed to us, at the time of their greatest vogue brought families into sore distress, so much so that when Demetrius in 299 B.C. acquired control of Athens he felt constrained to limit by edict the amount that might be spent on the burial of the dead. Extravagance, no doubt, can often be laid to the charge of art, but equally to religion, to learning, to industry, to everything that can create a master passion in men.

The archaeologist has abundant opportunity to verify these simple principles. Thus, the building of the pyramids represents the culmination of an economic and political development perhaps the longest and the least interrupted that Egypt ever knew. If it be true, as Herodotus and modern engineers assert, that the building of the pyramid of Khufu required the labor of a hundred thousand men for twenty years, what must have been the political and economic organization of the little land and the grip of the powerful monarch that made such an undertaking possible! Through what agencies was this labor force recruited and the wastage supplied? What of the commissariat, the management of the distant quarries of Assouan, of river transport? The venality, graft, and evasion so characteristic of the modern orient must have been largely excluded, a fact corroborated by other evidence. Under the stern rule of Khufu Egypt anticipated by five thousand years the marvelous results of British rule in our own day. Yet the marvel was of short duration. Decline began in Khufu's lifetime. It was marked under his successor and progressive throughout the remainder of the Fourth Dynasty. The Fifth begins with a transfer of power from king to nobles and an obviously weakened state. In the Sixth Dynasty this goes farther, the government is weaker, the country poorer, and the golden age comes to an end.

Art follows the same path but always a dynasty behind. The exquisite art of Sak-kara is not of the Fourth Dynasty but of the feeble Fifth, while the famous Mycerinus statues which are the pride of the Boston and Cairo museums date from the tottering and decadent Sixth. The story is repeated in the later empire. The amazing art discovered in the tomb of Tut-ank-amen dates from a period of fallen fortunes, of political and economic decay. Egypt was but the shadow of what she had been a century before, yet it is probable that neither the conquering Thutmes nor Amenophis the Magnificent,

who held the East in fief, were clothed with the splendor which accompanied this emaciated youth to his tomb.

So far we have considered the rather obvious dependence of art upon wealth and its tendency to outlive the conditions that create it. It remains for us to note briefly the reaction of art upon economics and upon human activity in general. We shall pass the somewhat obvious fact that art objects are themselves economic products, which employ labor and promote trade. More interesting are some of art's secondary reactions upon economic activity. A case in point may prove instructive.

In a certain rather rustic community an industrial plant was established employing many women and girls. They welcomed the industry but it proved to be impossible to persuade them to steady labor. They could earn in three or four days a week money enough to buy the very simple finery there in vogue and preferred to spend half their time in wearing it. Persuasion proving futile, the firm imported a milliner and costumier whose creations were a revelation to the simple community. The effect was magical. The prospect of sporting this finery on one day of the week outweighed the chance of the old for four, and the plant now ran at capacity six days in the week.

That is the story of art in a nutshell. Art in the concrete may not be indispensable. Its physical utility is always slight and sometimes nil. But art as a stimulus to exertion, as a lure to ambition is the deepest necessity of our being. Toil without reward and without desire imbrutes us. But effort directed toward a desired end is our salvation. It is commonly assumed that the primal wants are the most coercive. On the contrary, with no other desires than food and warmth men will starve and freeze rather than exert themselves. Without the desire for gewgaws the savage sinks into hopeless torpor. It is gewgaws, big and little, that lift us above the brute. It is they that develop our faculties, stimulate our energy, and school us in disciplined activity.

With incredible fatuousness our would-be benefactors are in arms against this great civilizing necessity. A great Christian denomination, one perhaps in the vanguard of religious intelligence, has recently discussed in its national convention and almost adopted a resolution putting itself on record as favoring a uniform limitation of labor to eight hours per day (so far perhaps good) with such farther continuous reduction as is compatible with the production of necessities. What necessities: the necessities of today or of our ancestors or of our posterity? It is just as easy to draw the line of necessity as it is to locate the foot of the rainbow. But once establish this principle that the thing to do is to get as little work and as much picnic as possible and you are headed straight back toward savagery. With the savage it is all picnic. The distinction of civilization is organized and disciplined activity for the production of unnecessary things, of art. God grant we may never have less than an eight-hour day. Not all worth-while activity is confined to the industrial working day, I know, but the best of it is. Moreover, it is the working day that makes the rest possible, that makes the rest worth while. The thing to be redeemed is not these eight hours but the other



sixteen. The great problem just now is the redemption of our leisure. To further increase its amount under present conditions of slovenly and demoralizing utilization would imperil our civilization and head us toward the jungle.

No, no, give us work; not drudgery, not overstrain, but work, absorbing, enticing. Give us unnecessary but fascinating things to make; give us art. It is by making these unnecessary things and habituating ourselves to them until they become necessary things, that we extend the frontier of civilization. The lure of art is the mainspring of industry, the motive force of civilization. It is not so much the things with which it enriches us as the activity that it furnishes to our creative faculties, an activity which is the sole antidote for sloth and demoralization.

It is by art that civilizations stand or fall. I am not talking about the judgment of posterity. Small matter what the archaeologists who some day dig up our buried cities think of our civilization. It is not a question of future judgment but of present life or death. The people that can have art and does not, rots, and another takes its birth-right. It gives us Americans food for reflection. Like the peoples whose monuments we now explore we have subdued nature and compelled her to yield the necessities of existence on ever easier terms. What are we doing with the time and energy thus released? Idleness is disaster. The multiplication of primitive indulgences is cloying and destructive. Further conquest of nature is losing its zest.

The need is for more of these inspiring and stimulating "unnecessary" things to fill the time and absorb the energy made available by our progress. It will always be so. When are we going to stop? When have enough? Never. It is an idle question. This surcease from toil, this relaxation of endeavor which is the dream of our Lotus Eaters is the pot of gold beneath the rainbow. To find it would be our undoing, an undoing all too possible. Many a people has proved its capacity to endure hardship and privation. None has yet demonstrated its ability to endure civilization. Peoples by strenuous endeavor attain to high achievement and then slow up and rest on their oars. They are called back to the simple life, bidden to get the good of what they have done—as though there were any good like the doing. Vigilance is relaxed, and wholesome endeavor is no longer keyed up to concert pitch. Wealth is squandered in gross indulgences and vulgar banalities with their deadening sequel of satiety and disorder. Work, robbed of its legitimate incentive, becomes drudgery and is shunned in the interest of demoralizing ease. This is the familiar path along which decadent societies pass to their dissolution.

The temptation is irresistible to indulge in a momentary digression upon our own country and its prospects. We are rich, "bestly rich," someone has said. Our creative energy is at its height. What wares are on our counter for our rich to buy? What lure does art hold out to our ambition? More exactly, are we developing an art sufficient to inspire our people and maintain their creative powers? I believe we are. Lamentations and Cassandra prophecies are frequent, but ill considered and based for the most part

on obvious misunderstanding. Art is an infinitely elusive thing. We have no sooner got used to it in one form than it appears in another which is strange and misleading. As Elbert Hubbard has said, "Art is not a thing; art is a spirit in things." From the standpoint of the producer, which in the last analysis is the standpoint of the race, art is the thing that is done for the love of the doing, a thing done that did not have to be done. But the thing done may be anything whatever. And quite inevitably the things into which enters the spirit that makes them art will be things characteristic of the age. True art is never archaistic. It never takes its forms, its motives, or even its media from the past. Yet the artist, the art lover, and above all the archaeologist are always looking for art in traditional or obsolete forms. By our proficiency in these forms we are judged and not unnaturally are found wanting.

It would be contrary to all nature that we should reveal our aesthetic feeling in any such form as did the fifth century Greek or the fifteenth century Florentine. Our whole life is different. Hand artisanship was the rule in their day, with the individual as the economic unit. Art was naturally an individual product, a statue, a Madonna, or the like. Today everything is teamwork. Vast organizations covering whole states or continents more and more monopolize our great activities. The individual is nowhere; his work is nowhere, lost, merged, absorbed in the vast whole.

It is useless to expect such an age to express itself in statues and Madonnas. Frankly, I do not look for any great development along this line. It is in the total inadequacy of these things to house the spirit of our age that we are to find the explanation of the incredible lunacy to be observed in modern painting and sculpture. Equally futile is the call back to hand artisanship as the sole hope of art. The inevitable result of this false assumption is an artificial and perverted craftsmanship animated less by the spirit of art than by the spirit of protest. Things are made unsymmetrical and lopsided so we can see across the street that they repudiate the regularity of the machine. Even worse is the antiquarian temper, which assumes that art is a function of antiquity and that beautiful is essentially synonymous with original, authentic, genuine, and antique. How that spirit in things must laugh at these puny endeavors to confine within these childish limits the far ranging soul of our time!

Unless the elusive spirit in things which we are seeking violates all precedent it must take up its abode in the characteristic creations of our day. And there it is in point of fact. It is in the railroad, upon whose gleaming tracks I gaze while the train rushes along their curving silver lines like a planet hurled from the hand of a god. It is in the steamship, that bands the sea with its foaming wake, and the mill, whose iron fingers put to shame the cunning of men's hands. You say these things are utilitarian? Utilitarian plus, and everything is in the plus, in last analysis, the utility itself. You say the creators of these things wrought for money? What did Praxiteles work for? Not less for money than they. The words of James B. Hill, "I have made my mark across this planet that no man shall ever efface," were not the words of a hireling. These men

wrought for the love of the doing as truly as did Phidias or Michelangelo, and that spirit which is the soul of things has found in their work an abiding place. I gaze upon their work with feelings akin to those inspired by the ceiling of Michelangelo. May the lure that drew them on abide with us for the saving of the nation.



# THE GOLDEN BOOK OF PFÄVERS

By ERNEST T. DEWALD

SINCE the preparation of my introductory article on the school of Einsiedeln,<sup>1</sup> I have had occasion to visit the Stiftsarchiv at St. Gall and to examine the so-called Liber Aureus Favariensis.<sup>2</sup> This manuscript had been known to me only through Swarzenski's attribution of it to the school of Reichenau.<sup>3</sup> The examination showed, however, that it is an important member of the group belonging to the scriptorium of Einsiedeln, in the second half of the eleventh century.

As its name indicates, the manuscript came to St. Gall from the abbey of Pfävers, near Ragatz, Switzerland. It contains an arrangement of readings for certain feast days of the year, grouped according to the evangelists from whose Gospels the readings are taken. Interspersed on empty pages throughout the manuscript are later Gothic entries, which record events in the history of Pfävers.<sup>4</sup> From the arrangement of the folios and particularly of the evangelists, the reverse of the usual arrangement, it would appear that the manuscript is not in its original condition.

The illuminations consist of portraits of the four evangelists and a series of initials at the heads of the readings of particular feast days. They are as follows: verso of fly-leaf, Evangelist John (Fig. 1); folio 1 r, initial I; folio 1 v, initial D (Fig. 11); folio 2, Gothic entries; folio 3 r, initial E; folio 3 v, initial D for the vigil of Pentecost; folio 4, initial D for Pentecost; folio 5 r, initial D for the feast of the apostles; folios 5 v—8 r, Gothic entries; folio 8 v, Evangelist Luke (Fig. 2); folio 9, two large initial P's (Fig. 9); folio 10 r, initial M for the Annunciation; folio 10 v, initial E for feria II Easter; folio 12 r, initial S for feria III Easter; folio 12 v, initial F for the vigil of St. John the Baptist; folio 13, initial E for the feast day of St. John the Baptist; folio 14 r, initial I for the Assumption; folio 14 v, initial I for the Assumption; folio 15 r, initial D for *ad uno Martire*; folios 15 v—16 r, Gothic entries; folio 16 v, Evangelist Mark (Fig. 3); folio 17 r, initial M; folio 17 v, initial R for the Ascension (Fig. 7); folios 18—20 r, Gothic entries; folio 20 v, Evangelist Matthew (Fig. 4); folio 21 r, initial L for the beginning of Matthew; folio 21 v, initial C; folio 22 r, initial D for the feast day of St. Stephen; folio 22 v, initial A for the Innocents; folio 23, initial E for the Epiphany; folio 24 r, initial U for the vigil of Easter; folio 24 v, initial D for the feast day of St. Benedict and initial V for the feast day of St. Peter; folio 25, initial A for the feast day of St. Michael; folio 26 r, initial I for the feast day of St. Andrew and initial V

1. *The Art Bulletin*, VII, 3.

2. The Liber Aureus is so called from its gold covers, and not, as one might suspect, from any gold writing in the text. I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Joseph Müller, Stiftsarchivar at St. Gall, for privileges extended to me while studying the manuscript and for information sent me.

3. Swarzenski, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXVI, p. 489, n.

4. These entries have been published in part in the *Mon. Germ. SS.*, XII, 410 ff., and have also been utilized in von Arx's *Geschichte des Kantons St. Gallen*.

for *de sanctis*; folio 26 v, initial D for *de virginibus*; folios 27–52, Gothic entries (among these: folios 29–32, list of Pfävers abbots; folio 52 v, list of monasteries with which Pfävers had confraternities; these were: Disentis, Schennis, St. Gall, St. Fridolin in Glarus, Einsiedeln, Zürich, Reichenau, St. Leodegar at Lucerne). As for the colors, all the initials with the sole exception of the E on folio 10 v are done in gold edged with red and with red filling within the split shafts. The backgrounds within the initials are light blue and light green. The E on folio 10 v is outlined with red and filled with the usual blue and green. The evangelist pages have very little variety. The borders are gold with green and purple leaf designs. The backgrounds are all mottled purple. The skies are streaked with blues, greens, and pinks, the architecture is light oak, green, and mat indigo, and the garments of the evangelists, purple, orange, and cream.

In establishing the connection of this manuscript with the school of Einsiedeln, the following comparisons will, I think, prove convincing. The mottled purple backgrounds on the evangelist pages are very characteristic of the ornate pages of manuscripts 113 and 114 at Einsiedeln (Fig. 10).<sup>5</sup> The architectural settings above the evangelists, with the brick or stone filled spandrels are identical with the setting found in manuscript 151 at Einsiedeln (Fig. 6). Even the same small turret on that page corresponds to the central one in the Matthew page at St. Gall (Fig. 4). Note also the same curious thin slabs with scroll ends used as abaci, necking blocks, or above the bases, which appear in all the evangelist pages of the Pfävers manuscript and on the page cited from manuscript 151 at Einsiedeln (Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6).

The border about the Mark page (Fig. 3) is the same as that about the "*Vere Dignum*" page in manuscript 114 at Einsiedeln<sup>6</sup> or that about the initial P in Einsiedeln 113 (Fig. 10). The border of the Luke page (Fig. 2) is the same as that about the Crucifixion page in Einsiedeln 114 (Fig. 5) or that about the "*Vere Dignum*" page of manuscript 113 at Einsiedeln.<sup>7</sup> These borders are simply more stylized or linearized versions of the borders in the Psalter of Egbert or in the Poussay Gospels.<sup>8</sup> They are derived ultimately from the borders of the St.-Denis school, such as are found in the Bible of St. Paul's in Rome.<sup>9</sup> The stylized plants and flowers which appear in the foreground of the evangelist pages are also found on the Crucifixion page in Einsiedeln 113<sup>10</sup> and are similarly derived from St.-Denis manuscripts.

A comparison of the facial types is likewise striking. The broad heads with the high-set ears are characteristic of the Einsiedeln manuscripts (e. g., Figs. 5 and 6). And the sharp noses and dot eyes of the evangelists in the Pfävers manuscript are paralleled in the Christ in Einsiedeln 114 (Fig. 5) and particularly in the faces on the presentation page of Einsiedeln 151 (Fig. 6). One could wish no closer comparison than is found

5. See also *The Art Bulletin*, VII, 3, figs. 9 and 10.

6. *Ibid.*, fig. 11.

7. *Ibid.*, fig. 9.

8. Sauerland and Haseloff, *Der Psalter Erzbischof Egberts von Trier*, pls. 21, 32, 55.

9. Boinet, *La miniature carolingienne*, pl. CXXVII a.

10. *The Art Bulletin*, VII, 3, fig. 10.



FIG. 1—St. Gall, Stiftsarchiv: *Liber Aureus* from Pfävers, verso of Flyleaf  
Evangelist John



FIG. 2—St. Gall, Stiftsarchiv: *Liber Aureus* from Pfävers, Fol. 8 v.  
Evangelist Luke



FIG. 3—St. Gall, Stiftsarchiv: *Liber Aureus* from Pfävers, Fol. 16 v.  
Evangelist Mark



FIG. 4—St. Gall, Stiftsarchiv: *Liber Aureus* from Pfävers, Fol. 20 v.  
Evangelist Matthew





FIG. 5—Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek: MS. 114, Missal, Page 205. Crucifixion



FIG. 6—Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek: MS. 151 Gregorii Moralia in Job (II), Fol. 1 v. Presentation



FIG. 7—St. Gall, Stiftsarchiv: Liber Aureus from Pfäfers, Fol. 17 v. Initial R for the Ascension



FIG. 8—Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek: MS. 112, Liber Officialis, Page 3 Byzantine Motives



FIG. 9—St. Gall, Stiftsarchiv: *Liber Aureus* from Pfävers, Fol. 9. Initial P



FIG. 10—Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek: MS. 113, Missal, Page 223. Initial P



FIG. 11—St. Gall, Stiftsarchiv: *Liber Aureus* from Pfävers, Fol. 1 v. Initial D

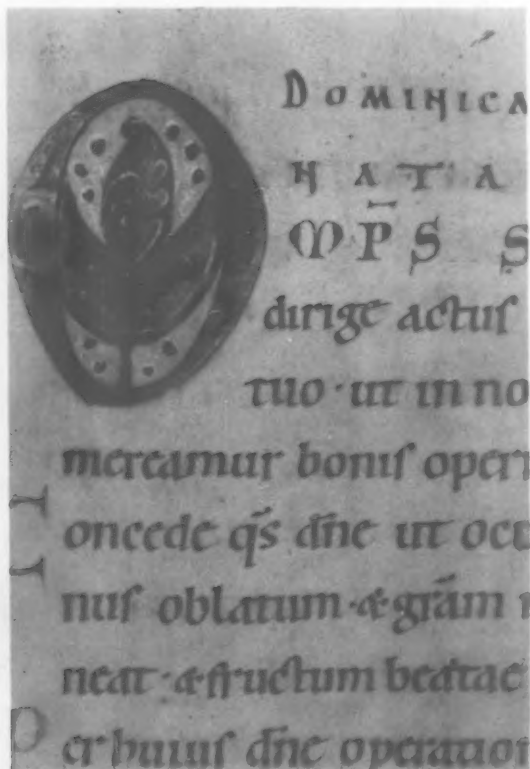


FIG. 12—Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek: MS. 113, Missal, Page 412. Initial O

between the face of the Virgin or of the monk approaching her and the face of the angel symbol of Matthew in the Pfävers manuscript (Fig. 4).

The initials also of the Pfävers example are in the same style as those in the Einsiedeln manuscripts. Compare the P of the Liber Aureus (Fig. 9) with that in Einsiedeln 113 (Fig. 10), or the R with the animal head termination (Fig. 7) with a similar R in Einsiedeln 114.<sup>11</sup> Equally interesting is the comparison of the D filled with a large florid leaf (Fig. 11) with an O similarly filled in Einsiedeln 113 (Fig. 12). Both the animal termination and the leaf filler are to be found in manuscripts of the Reichenau school.<sup>12</sup> But the former motive is much more peculiar to the St. Gall manuscripts,<sup>13</sup> while the latter seems derived from Byzantine ivories, metal work, and manuscripts.<sup>14</sup> As an interesting side light on the use of this leaf motive, and particularly its use at Einsiedeln, I am reproducing a page from Einsiedeln 112 (Fig. 8), which is one of several pages inserted at the beginning of this manuscript on which a scribe copied various Byzantine motives.

It will also be noticed that the thrones on which the evangelists are seated in the Pfävers manuscript are the jeweled thrones which we found to be so characteristic of the earlier Einsiedeln group.<sup>15</sup> And their survival here serves as another link to connect this earlier group with the later group.

How this manuscript got from Einsiedeln to Pfävers becomes evident in the light of the following. From the earliest times Einsiedeln and Pfävers had close relations.<sup>16</sup> Einsiedeln appears on the list of monasteries with which Pfävers had confraternities (see above). And the reformed rule from Einsiedeln was evidently used at Pfävers too, for at the time of Abbot Wirunt of Einsiedeln (996-1026) three monks of Einsiedeln, Gebene, Hartmann, and Eberhard became abbots of Pfävers. Hartmann later became the bishop of Chur and of Constance. Later, in 1330, another Einsiedeln monk, Hermann of Arbon, became the abbot of Pfävers. Further indications of the closeness of these two monasteries appear in a bull of Pope Martin IV, dated 1282, wherein he requests Pfävers to protect Einsiedeln from robbers and assaults, and in a request from the Council of Basel in 1437 that Einsiedeln and Chur this time protect Pfävers.<sup>17</sup> Such instances as these of the close connections between Pfävers and Einsiedeln readily account for the transference of manuscripts from one monastery to the other, as happened so frequently in the early Middle Ages. And with the suppression of Pfävers in the last century its manuscripts were transferred to the archive at St. Gall.

11. *Ibid.*, fig. 13.

12. Leidinger, *Miniaturen aus Handschriften der königlichen Hof- und Staatsbibliothek zu München*, I, 34; V, 22, 50 a, b, d, 60 a; VI, 21, 22. These motives are also frequent in certain unpublished Einsiedeln manuscripts, such as cod. 8, fol. 3; cod. 34, fol. 23; cod. 122, fol. 10.

13. Landsberger, *Der Folcbar Psalter*, pl. I, figs. 3 a, b; 4; 17 c; 20.

14. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, figs. 339, 451. As appearing on western ivories, Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen* . . . , II, no. 22 and pls. XIX, XX.

15. *The Art Bulletin*, VII, 3, pp. 85, 87.

16. Ringholz, *Geschichte des fürstlichen Benedictinerstiftes U. L. F. zu Einsiedeln*, p. 49.

17. References to the sources for this information are to be found in Ringholz, *op. cit.*, pp. 53, 57, 117, 190-1, 370.



## REVIEWS

STUDIER I GÖTEBORGS BYGGNADSHISTORIA FÖRE 1814 (STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF BUILDING IN GOTHENBURG BEFORE 1814). By *Arvid Baeckström*. 292 pp.; 111 illustrations. *Stockholm*, 1923.

THIS book, which belongs to a series of publications of the Nordiska Museum at Stockholm, deals with an interesting period in the development of Swedish cities. For nearly a century all the architectural and engineering work of Gothenburg was in the hands of three members of the Carlberg family. The eldest of these, Johan Eberhard Carlberg, in the beginning of his career a fortification officer, was appointed a city engineer in 1717. He was succeeded by his brother, Bergt Wilhelm Carlberg, who held the office from 1727 to 1775 and passed it on, finally, to his son, Carl Wilhelm Carlberg (1775-1814).

The author gives first an account of the history of building in Gothenburg before 1717 and explains the dominance of the Dutch element during the time of King Gustav II Adolf.

J. E. Carlberg's work was largely confined to engineering constructions. His somewhat heavy style shows the classicism which reached Sweden via Germany and Holland. His brother, B. W. Carlberg, who likewise began as a fortification officer, had, in his new capacity, first to finish the reconstruction of the Gothenburg cathedral, which was started under J. E. Comparing the plans and drawings of the two we find that B. W. followed a still more rigid and puritanic style than his brother. At first the former built with Dutch baroque forms, but he soon changed to forms closely related to French-Italian classicism, which was also popular in Stockholm. The author emphasizes the fact that the rococo could not influence Carlberg or Gothenburg: the Nordic spirit and habits were entirely unprepared for rococo forms.

Like his father, C. W. Carlberg was an ardent follower of neoclassicism. His development was strongly influenced by a trip to other European countries. There he became better acquainted with the sources of classicism and the sources of other contemporary styles. He made drawings of Palladio's architecture, of buildings in classical baroque style, and of characteristic new buildings. He was especially interested in the new Louis XVI style, with its clear, well balanced forms. The direct result of his studies abroad was the summer residence at Gunnebo, an interesting example of Swedish interpretation of the style of Louis XVI. The fire of 1802 necessitated his working at the restoration of Gothenburg cathedral, as his father had done before him.

These three architects devoted their talents so exclusively to Gothenburg that all that was built there in the eighteenth century—dwellings and public buildings, and all the changes in the laws for contractors and builders, and all the projects of city extension, were of their making.

Even though written in Swedish, this book, with its 111 excellent illustrations, will be useful to many architects interested in city building.

M. S. DIMAND

DEN BALTISKA NORDENS KYRKOR (THE CHURCHES OF THE BALTIC NORTH). By *Jobnny Roosval*. 198 pp.; 158 illustrations. Uppsala, 1923.

THIS small handbook is Roosval's new contribution to a history of mediaeval architecture of the North which comprises Sweden, Denmark, Northern Germany, the former Baltic provinces of Russia, Letland and Estland, and Finland. According to Roosval, Sweden was, before the time of Gustav Vasa, a part of an "art union" which included countries outside the political boundaries of today.

An interesting feature of the book is the new periods into which the development of the ecclesiastical architecture of the Baltic North is divided. Every art historian knows that the conventional chronological and geographical divisions of art development found in our handbooks on the history of art are often insufficient for explaining the origins and development of various styles. Every serious scholar knows today, thanks to Strzygowski and his school, that political geography and art geography are very different. That many phenomena of style were and still are wrongly interpreted is due to this old method. Roosval's suggested periods in the development of the churches, though not yet entirely defined, are worth the consideration of art scholars. (See also Roosval's article, *Periodeneinteilung in der Kunstgeschichte*, in *Studien zur Kunst des Ostens—Strzygowski Festschrift*.)

The first chapter is devoted to the early Christian period of Scandinavian architecture, of the end of the tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh. The wooden churches of this period are richly ornamented by interlaced animal bodies familiar to us from the splendid monuments found in Norway including the Oseberg ship, belonging to the ninth century.

The second period, beginning about 1020 to 1030, is characterized by stone churches of various types: A, a pillar basilica with three naves; B, with one nave and tower; C, with one nave and apse, without tower; D, with one nave, straight ending choir, and without tower; E, in cross form, with central tower, as represented by the St. Olof church in Sigtuna, which Roosval compares with several Armenian churches.

The third period is called the Sigtuna period (from about 1060–80 until 1130–50) and is represented by churches such as St. Per at Sigtuna (now a ruin), Linköping, Skara, and old Uppsala. The characteristic form of this period is a cross basilica with a tower over a square, and with a double, or single tower on the west side, and apses on the east side of the choir and the narthex arms.

The Lunda period's (from about 1130–50 until 1160–80) most splendid and best known church of Romanesque style is the great cathedral at Lund, in the form of a Latin cross. The names of several artists of this period are known, preserved in in-

scriptions and documents. Beside the traditional Scandinavian ornamentation we find at this time evident signs of Italian influence.

The fifth period is called the Cistercian period (from about 1160-80 until 1220-30) and is that of Denmark's political expansion. A great influence on the development of the architecture was exercised by the Cistercians who came from Burgundy and brought with them their cloister architecture, characterized by a simplicity of forms. Famous cloister churches of the Cistercian period are those at Alvastra (reminiscent of Fontenay), at Nydala, and Vidtsköl. Two Danish cathedrals, at Aarhus and Roskilde, built during this period, with evident French influence, show the first use of brick as building material.

The so-called transition period begins about 1220-30 and ends about 1250-80. German influence now becomes stronger. In the year 1143 was founded the famous city of Lübeck, which later plays such a great rôle in the development of Scandinavian art. The German school expanded to Gotland also, where in Visby artists from Saxony, Westphalia, and the Rheinland rebuilt the church of St. Maria.

The next three chapters deal with the early northern Gothic in the stone region, the northern brick region, and the southern brick region. The early Gothic churches of the Baltic North are very numerous. To the first group, in the stone region, belong the churches of the Swedish provinces of Västergötland, Nerke, Östergötland, Gotland, and Estland; to the second group, in the northern brick region, belong the churches of Mälardale and Finland, to the southern brick region, the churches of southern Scandinavia and northern Germany. The most important church of the second group is the cathedral at Uppsala, built mostly by French architects in the style of the French cathedrals. About 1280-1310 was built at Stockholm the Franciscan church, the so-called Riddarholmchurch, which shows the influence of the German Gothic. In Lübeck, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund, Greifswald, and Skåne in southern Sweden, we find the richest cathedral type of the southern brick region.

The next chapter is devoted to the so-called Contra-Gothic, from about 1310-30 until 1360-70. The name Contra-Gothic is not quite rightly chosen, for in spite of the Swedish national influences the basic characteristic of this period is still Gothic. In the French Gothic church the main entrance was on the west, while in this Contra-Gothic type the west-east orientation is changed to south-north.

The following period is called that of Queen Margareta (from about 1370-80 until 1410-30). Old churches are now modernized or new ones built. St. Nicolai at Wismar, St. Marien at Stargard, St. Marien at Stralsund, and St. Nicolai at Greifswald are now furnished on the choir side with a row of chapels. This period is characterized, according to Roosval, by a renaissance of the original ideals of Gothic art.

The last periods are called: Englebrektime (from about 1410-30 until 1450-70), Sture-Gothic and Ultra-Gothic (from about 1500-10 until 1530-40). The first of these periods is characterized by the building of church towers, due to the turbulent times



in Sweden. In the time of Sten Sture, liberator of the Swedish nation, many new churches were built which show Dutch influence. A characteristic church of this period is St. Yürgen at Wismar. The chapter on Ultra-Gothic is more an account of the interior decoration of churches.

From this very short résumé of Roosval's book one can see what extensive material it comprises. Though written for the use of the general Scandinavian public, to outsiders it will be a convenient and scholarly guide. The illustration and description of each type of church make the book a valuable introduction to Scandinavian mediaeval architecture and its connections with the art of other countries.

M. S. DIMAND